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The
INDIAN JOURNALIST
A MONTHLY DIGEST OF THE INDIAN PRESS AND NEWS REVIEW

Verified
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MR. DEVADAS GANDHI
Managing Editor: THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES
President-elect: All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference 1947

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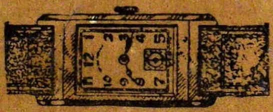

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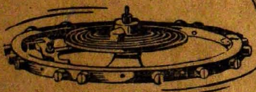

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The

INDIAN JOURNALIST

Managing Editor
V. RAMANA RAO B.A.

A MONTHLY DIGEST OF THE INDIAN PRESS & NEWS REVIEW

VOL. 7] APRIL, 1947 [No. 4

A. I. N. E. C. TOMORROW ★ EDITORIAL

On the tenth November, 1940, was born a new professional body of a type so far without precedent in India and in circumstances of the utmost gloom and depression. There was then no question as to the need for its formation and operation and it was born out of the continuous, but entirely unspoken, urge of a large body of people who had put up with the most vexatious government restrictions and were desperately anxious to find a way out. The war was still at its most crucial stage and the atmosphere in India was charged with potentialities for good and evil on an unprecedented scale. There was any amount of daring and defiance of official prohibitions, but on the other hand there was also a more sober section which was anxious to avoid clash with authority where it could be, without loss of prestige or sacrifice of principle. It was in this most propitious atmosphere of a universal realisation of the need for co-operation, that the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was born at New Delhi, at the office of the "Hindustan Times"

NOTABLE FEATURE

Although started in this electric atmosphere of urgency and panic, the Conference addressed itself to more enduring questions and objectives, instead of merely questions of current ephemeral interest. Logically, a body started under the circumstances which gave birth to the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference could well have had for its objects items like fighting against censorship and press advising, aiding newspapers who were in trouble under emergency war regulations, solving each others' difficulties in respect of personnel, etc. But, it goes to the credit of the sponsors of the move that they set before themselves not such ephemeral items, but objects like:

(*a*) preservation of the high traditions and standards of journalism;

(*b*) safeguarding the rights of the press *in general*, and in particular, freedom of publication of news and comment, and

(*c*) representation of the press in India in its relations with the public and public institutions and particularly, in its relations with the Government and to set up Committee which would act as liaison bodies between the Government and the press as a whole.

The point to remember is that a body intended to pursue these objects might very well have been constituted before September 1st, 1939 on which date the second World War started, but that it was not done was due to the fact that the circumstances which were propitous for its inauguration had not materialised till then. It was all the more courageous and far-seeing on the part of the sponsors of the Conference,

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therefore to have kept the first and last items (*a* and *c*) in view also, instead of limiting the scope and activities of the new body to just the achievement of time *b*.

CRITERION FOR JUDGMENT

Now, after the lapse of full six years, during which the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has had full scope and full opportunity to play its role, it is perhaps time to assess its past work and its place in the scheme of things in the future. As we stressed in the first paragraph, the immediate provocation for the formation of the body was the emergency that existed then, owing to war conditions. Life was made hellish for the newspaperman in India. As we say in popular parlance, to turn to the right and to turn to the left might, possibly, be offences and no one knew what even such innocent acts might bring on one's head. There was much happening on the national front and everything was a good banned There were much that no decent, self-respecting editor would willingly publish in his paper, which authority was trying to foist on editors' heads. True, the Editor could always take courage in both hands and go all out against bureaucracy, but there was little virtue in it, as much defiance and the punishment it would bring on, had little scope for any moral effect. This was the straight jacket type of atmosphere which the Editors' Conference inherited at birth. There was nothing for it but negotiation between the Editors' body and the Government. Negoitation first, negotation second, negotiation all the time—this was the need of the moment. It should be noted that, for a body of Indians, who, for half a century, had been the spearhead of the anti-Government feeling in the country, this was a particularly hateful role but seeing that the only alternative was purposeless self-immolation, it is to the credit of the Conference that it tackled the nasty job with all the dignity and capability it could command. And dignity and capability were plentifully available in the profession, so much so that the Government of India and provincial governments also found it to their own advantage to negotiate with the Conference Chief on all necessary occasions and be guided by him and his Provincial Representatives.

This in brief is an outline of the role played by the A.I.N.E.C., during the last six years. It excludes little details of failure and frustration, disgust and disappointment, which are bound to be present in long periods of relationship between a foreign government and popular bodies in a country. Taken by and large, the conference has played a useful part in respect of the clashes that so frequently arose between organs of popular opinion and Governments, during a time of unduly severe regimentation of news and comments, and whatever judgments are passed on the past history of the Conference should take full account of this background, in order that false standards are not applied to assess a kind of work that was created by circumstsnces of emergency.

HOW ABOUT THE FUTURE?

Willing cooperation, and plenty of it, was extended to the conference from all shades of newspaper opinion during its period of stress, strain and clash with the Government. Nationalist journals were, of course, uppermost in membership; Anglo-Indian journals were there in their entirety. Sectional journals, like those advocating Pakistan and Hindustan, were also there in sufficient number to give the conference that position of full and a round representation which has been its pride from the very beginning. As we stated already, it was realised on all hands that a body was needed for fighting the cause of the small mofussil editor, who, by himself, could not command prestige and influence enough, but who stood tremendously to benefit by membership in an association that was led by the tallest in the profession whose connections with the biggest men in governments and public life gave him phenomenal influence and prestige. Self-help, more than purely the spirit of mutual help, induced all editors who counted in the country to lend their cooperation in the work of the A.I.N.E.C. The sword of Damocles hung over everyone's head all the time, and only shelter under the broad canopy of the conference gave the promise of even nominal safety and salvation.

But all that is past history now. The inducement that circumstances of great emergency held out has gone. Editors have little to lose by non-cooperation with the conference, what they have to gain, it is for each individual editor to judge for himself. The position in many provinces is still so bad as to necessitate all sorts of emergency legislation penalising the press, but everyone knows that the emergencies of today are bound to be short-lived. They will all pass tomorrow, or the day after, and Editors will be free to pursue their avocation without let or hindrance.

Why, then, bother about a conference? That seems to be the general spirit abroad. We do not exaggerate. The reason why we stressed, in the beginning the point about the non formation of an Editors, association prior to the emergency of the war years, is to bring home to readers the fact that, temperamentally, our editors appear to be indifferent to all ideas of cooperative endeavour Cooperation means give and take-as much "give" as "take," processes which induce diametrically opposed reactions in the human mind! The cupidity of the average businessman controlling the destinies of many of our newspapers would induce him to prefer the luck of the lonely prospector to the normal reasonable returns that can be ensured by cooperative endeavour. Apart from this, there is the inherent inertia of the average Indian editor, who hates nothing so much as contact with the outside world Readers would be astounded to hear that the number of the editorial profession in India, who are capable of leading any kind of useful public life, is small enough to be counted on the fingers of one hand. Being

tied down to the table, and knocking off a leading article a day which few read and fewer profit by is the fashion among the journalists of India. Proof of this can be had by instancing the entire absence of trade unions among journalists in India, with the sole and solitary, if not singular, exception of the one that is still in the embryo stage at Bombay. Even the circumstances under which the Bombay Journalists Union came into being, or rather, might come into being one of these days, constitute enough proof of the general apathy evinced by newspapermen in India towards matters intimately concern their own well-being. The mill-worker, who is illiterate and who has not read tomes on the virtue and cooperation, instinctively cooperates in the work of the formation of a Trade Union. But, we of the newspaper profession in India, knowing all there is to be known about the virtue of union and cooperation, having before our eyes the glorious examples of the achievements of Trade Unions in England and America, still cannot summon sufficient courage to form trade unions at all newspaer centres and do the needful to secure our welfare and happiness in life. This is the infection from which the Editors are suffering still. We found it hard to believe it, but we have it on reliable authority that a meeting of the standing committee of the A.I.N.E.C. called during the end of last year at Bombay, was not attended by even ten members of the committee! Undoubtedly, that is a sorry comment on the temperament of Indian editors.

SCOPE FOR WORK

Surely, this is a strange development so soon after the emergencies of war time. One should naturally have expected that people who tasted the sweets of united work would continue to find out more and newer spheres for such cooperation and mutual assistance, but the spirit of the lone prospector seems to have descended on Indian Editors, once the all-powerful inducement of war-time conditions is withdrawn. At this occasion, it is our desire to plead with all Editors to continue their work in the same spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance. Admittedly, the rigours and grievances associated with war-time regulations governing the press have disappeared, but is there not enough work for Indian editors to do for the reform of Indian newspapers? We stressed the long-time objects the sponsors of the Conference placed before themselves when starting the body; and they are still worth all the effort Editors can put forth. Mr. K. Rama Rao the veteran editor, speaking at the Allahabad session of the Conference last year, stressed the need for all-round progress in Indian newspapers. He roundly declared that our papers were tenth-rate specimens, in every respect. He ardently advocated the need for the establisment of an institution for the training of journalists who would be a source of pride to the country; He argued the case for import of technical experts from foreign countries, at whose feet Indian Editors could learn the art of newspaper production. This last suggestion is not so ridiculous as it may sound in some ears. At least one important newspaper magnate of the South has already left for America, with the object, among others, of arranging for the training of one or two of his employees in the art of producing popular weekly magazines. We have no doubt that India will immensely profit by this enterprise, as by more others that Indian Editors might think of in future days. In the instance we just mentioned, the benefit of American training will only go to one newsyaper unit; if a cooperative venture of the kind, under, the auspices of the Confernce, had had been made possible, it would have had more widespread beneficial influence.

There is no doubt that many aspects of Indian newspaper production await improvement of far-reaching character. Sub-editing, to mention just one item, is perhaps the most shameful in the entire newspaper world. Anglo—Indian papers, and others predominantly European-Managed or owned, still lead the field in respect of perfection in this respect with all too few exceptions like "The Hindu" and "The Patrika", to keep company. Which means that the average Indian newspaper cannot boast the kind of sub-editing which can stand scrutiny.

Cooperative endeavour has still another scope of benifit to add to our prestiege. During a recent tour in the C. P., the Editor heard a story of a newspaperman's lapse and the manner in which he made good for it. One the Nagpur newspapers published a particularly spiteful item about a local journalist. The most stinging comments of contemporaries did not induce the editor in question to withdraw the item or apolcgise for it. Ultimately, the matter was referred to the Provincial Press Advisory Committee or the Provincial Committe for the Conference-we forget which-whose local chief suggested that the matter might be placed before the President of the All-Indian Newspapers Editors' Conference for his information and opinion. This suggestion had almost electric influence, the editor in question withdrawing the item, apologising for it and promising not to repeat the offence in future. The story has its moral. A professionol body, which scrutinises lapses on the part of its members, can exercise a great deal of moral influence and be a source of great public good. There are many newspapers in this country who are still a great way from being respectable and the only way in which they can be made respectable is by making a professional body sit constantly in judgement on the occasional delinquencies of the less enlightened men in the profession. We know we represent the feelings a great many journalists in the country in making this suggestion and their support will be wholeheartedly with the Conference, if it dons the mantle of monitorship for the sake of public good.

We have mentioned just two items of work that a professional body like the A. I. N. C. can continue to do in the future, but the field is large and there will be much to be done as days pass by. There must, however, be the willingness on the part of the profession to play the same sort of missinonary role which it started decades ago. Journalism might have ceased to be a mission, in view of the fact that the country's freedom is within sight and there is no political role to play. But the betterment of the profession is as noble a goal to act before oneself and the need of the profession for encouragement and guidance is more keen than ever. We hope the conference will respond.

DEVADAS GANDHI — *A. I. N. E. C. President Elect.*

The first thing to strike a physiognomist about Devadas Gandhi is his saintly face. Clothe him in saffron colours and you will have the most perfect picture of what an inmate of a monastery should look like. This is no mere accident. We must remember that he is the youngest of Mahatma Gandhi's sons, and presume that the greatest saint of India in modern times and developed to the fullest stature of saintliness—though greater fame came to him later in the field of politics - before Devadas was born. In any case, I have no doubt that if a painter were to seek a model for painting a Hindu saint, he would hardly find one better than Devadas Gandhi.

And the face, as often happens, is the reflection of the soul. He is, among all brothers, the nearest approach to his great father. No wonder Mahatma Gandhi is fond of Devadas than of any other of his sons. In him, even more than in others, features are the great soul's apparent seat and the greatness of his soul is reflected in his contact with people every day and his reactions to the world around him, particularly in the sphere of national activities which are monopolised by the Indian National Congress to-day.

A necessary adjunct of saintliness is humility, and that we find in him in abundance. Not the mock humility which makes some people excessively polite to others while they are laughing at them in their sleeves. But the humility which restrains ambition and thereby prevents projection of self into the foreground, breeding conflict and discord among friends and co-workers.

As the noblest son of Gandhiji, he could have been among the foremost Congress leaders to-day. But he prefers to withdraw into himself after any necessary part that he has to take in political affairs is over. There is no attempt at assuming leadership, which would have been his for the mere wishing. Because he does not hanker after offices, he gives the appearance of keeping aloof from politics. But he is in the fray when the call of the country invites suffering. I first came across him when the "Independent" had to close down and, with a struggle ahead, some enterprizing spirits thought of bringing out a cyclostyled edition of the daily. The neo-Independent had to go underground under the editorship of Devadas Gandhi, with the C. I. D. in close pursuit. The battle for freedom had begun and Devadas was in the forefront! From that day in 1923 onwards, till the recent 1942 movement, Devadas Gandhi has never shirked the call of suffering for his motherland. In 1942, I have reason to believe, he collected huge funds to feed the movement. How he succeeded in evading the C. I. D. remain a mystery to this day!

Another event which happened in 1942 threw a flood of light on his character. The bureaucracy was making it impossible for newspapers to exist with a sense of self-respect about them. There were numerous restrictions and more were being added to them every day. Pre-censorsip was becoming the order of the day. Mahatma Gandhi sent word that all Congress papers should cease publication. Only newspaper proprietors and managers know what that means to a newspaper. It means the wiping out of goodwill accumulated through years of toil, and starting afresh when the reign of repression is over. Closing down the paper for as long as the struggle lasts was a tall order for any newspaper, having regard to the fact that the struggle, with Churchill as His Majesty's Prime Minister, might have lasted for years. But Devadas responded to the call of the Congress leaders even when the only daily that boasted of being a Congress organ decided to ignore the command!

Among the greatest qualities of buiness magnates is their insight to select the right man for a particular job. When Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla selected Devadas Gandhi for looking after the "Hindustan Times", the daily was not making much headway, despite the fact that it was the only daily in the growing Capital of India. The progress that the "Hindustan Times" has made with Devadas at its helm is a tribute not only to the rectitude and integrity of the man but also to his acumen and intelligence, of which he deliberately refuses to make a show. Like his great father, he has in this sphere given ample proof of the fact that

"Great tasks in hours of insight willed
Are through long hours of gloom fulfilled."

The history of journalism perhaps records only one other example of the painstaking care with which Devadas does his day's work. In one of his books on journalism, F. J. Mansfield records that John Thadeus Delane, who became editor of the "London Times" at the age of 23, exercised the most vigilant supervision over the work of his staff and read the complete paper, either in galley or page proof, before he left the offlice every morning. Devadas Gandhi is also there punctually at midnight every day to go through that practical routine. No wonder he won the contempt case arising out of a report from his Meerut correspondent in the Privy Council, after having lost it in the High court. That victory is the greatest feat in his cap, as it is also the greatest tribute to his stewardship of the "Hindustan Times."

Newspapers are the world's mirrors and the educators of the common people. Horace Greely once said that printer's ink is the great apostle of progress, whose pulpit is the press. Heine underlined the saying with the observation that newspapers are our fortreses in these times when we fight for ideas, and Napoleon supplemented it with the saying that four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets. It is therefore of the utmost importance that our newspapers should be in the hands of men of unquestionable rectitude. The weight which the opinions of the "Hindustan Times" carry in the country comes to no mean extent from the personality of its Managing Editor, Mr. Devadas Gandhi. It is not only the public which takes

guidance in matters political and social from the "Hindustan Times," but numerous newspapers, big and small, also derive their inspiration from this daily which was founded by Sardar Mangal Singh and other Sikh leaders in the year 1924 and taken over in its infancy by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya under a promise of financial support from Mr. G. D. Birla.

The press is but the servant of the intellect of a community's leaders, and its ministry is for good or evil according to the character of those who direct it. It is, as Bryant truly said, a mill which grinds all that is put into its hopper—fill the hopper with poisoned grain and it will grind it to meal, but there is death in the bread. The last few years have shown how true was Bryant's forecast. But mankind instinctively shuns poison, and as, journalism tends to become the whole press with mankind writing its book day by day, thought spreads abroad with the rapidity of light instantly conceived, written broadcast and understood at the extremities of the earth the future of mankind becomes brighter and brighter. with men like Devadas Gandhi at the helm of our newspapers, believing in Gladstone's motto that the noblest motive is the public good, the future of the country would be in safe hands. That is a thought which cannot be too strongly commended to our newspaper proprietors.

—News Hauk.

OH! THESE LAWYERS!!—By PARIPURNAND VARMA.

No single class or community has injured the world so much as the lawyers. Misery and law both dawned upon the creation at one and the same time. The Creator wanted to play mischief and he gave us laws. The codification of law and condemnation of mankind to perpetual servitude were simultaneous. It makes men so inhuman that after sentencing a person to death, the judge sleeps more comfortably than usual and the Government pleader kisses his wife more passionately. The task of the day is done, the gown has been taken off, the black cap unceremoniously hurled upon the floor - and let the wretched crouch to his gallows with an equanimity better than the pusillanimity of the judge. Who says that law prevents mischief! Only the insensate will claim that Laws are those regulations which are meant to be treated with contempt by those who are brave and sagacious. It is to be followed by the timid and the docile. It is an instrument handled by the weak for the weak. For the strong right is might. They make and unmake laws with their bombs and we follow them. The great despise law, abhor it, ignore it and trample it with impunity. Otherwise, it is a saleable commodity. Coins interpret laws, i.e., law is a personified deity at whose altar we reach by bribing the 'panda' lawyer. The more the payment the merrier the interpretation. A lawyer loves money and not the law. He has no personal attachment or fidelities - he befriends money. To him, silver is just, gold is justice. The judges know that the advocate is not advocating the cause but the coin - still, he feigns to be guided by arguments. The poor man has been selling himself in chambers and he sympathises with the rogues.

The lawyer is heartless. Anxiety about his case never disturbs his sleep or digestion. He is paid to study and not to worry. He simply cannot afford that. He is learned enough to treat his clients with contempt. And then, it is such a cheap affair - this law business. According to a famous character of Sir Walter Scott, "it is like a laudanum, it is much, more easy to use it as a quack does, than to learn to apply it like a physician."

How can law be above suspicion like Caesar's wife. They say that in England there is the 'Rule of law'. It appears from Tocquevilles' writings, that it was the country which followed law and the fountain of it is the maxim of the courts, 'tout fuit in luy et vient de luial commencement!' This Royal supremacy, in spite of Parliament, is the summit of English jurisprudence. The king can do no wrong. But, is there a king and was there a king who has done no wrong? They revel in wrong doings? Ashoka reformed after his wrongs. Akbar can never justify his infliction on Rana Pratap - just as no Hindu can justify the murder of Vali by Ram of the Ramayan epic. English laws - what a morality it taught Englishmen to perpetrate most inhuman acts in the world in the name of civilisation. Had Englishmen been law-fearing, the East India Company would never have been a body of pirates, looters, ruffians and immoral rascals of the seas. The king can do no wrong means that the king can do no right. If God can commit blunders what about the poor monarchs. But, law is ingenuous to conceal and hide and explain blunders. It helps in plundering.

Manu, our greatest law-giver, has done no little mischief. If I begin to bring him to book, I will unnecessarily displease my guru in philosophy, Dr. Bhagavadan Dasji. Foreign law-givers, Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, Rosseau, Voltaire, De Lolave Gueist - what have they all done? Nothing - but a great endeavour to confuse mankind with interwoven codes called regulations for the 'benefit of society' which is sinking deeper and deeper under the yoke of laws.

Are we happy today? We perish, lawyers flourish. Estates, zamindaries, and lives, have been laid down at the feet of the lawyers. Who discourages a litigant about a bad case? Even Mr. Peebles of Sir Walter had a lawyer to hold his brief.

Lawyers are politicians and premiers. How happy is the world through them? Lawyers are judges who hang and banish. Lawyers are social leaders where jurisprudence is money. Lawyers are builders of education and they have taught us illiteracy or literacy minus sense. In this world, there is a pest called lawyers and there is a pestilence called law.

It is a business of interpretations, downright from potency to potentialities. The best the interpreter, the most successful he is at the bar. They stretch and whine. They confuse and get confounded. They are our lawyers and God save us from them. So long as law is in statute books, so long as lawyers are "paid" agents - there can be no justice. The fountain head of law needs no pleaders. Why should our judges need lawyers - unless somebody is obviously somebody's somebody. Justice is blind and its agents are heartless.

—LEADER

ADVENT OF MONOPOLY JOURNALISM IN INDIA

BY DR. BALKRISHNA KESKAR

A new menace to freedom of press—or whatever is left of it—in this country is developing very fast. It is a phenomenon unparalleled in any country. Some are succumbing to it and others are too weak to resist it. In this article, a former general Secretary of the Congress points out the dangers of the new development and gives a clear warning.

We have been witnessing during recent years a most remarkable phenomenon in the field of Indian Journalism. It has been becoming more and more evident since the advent of the war. It stands in a class of its own. In other countries we find gigantic press chains which control and direct scores of newspapers and periodicals and form combines. They ally themselves with various vested interests according to the need of the moment. But they are fundamentally professional journalists who have transformed journalism into Big Busines and who devolop new tactics in the field to suit their new conceptions and plans. They ally themselves with other capitalists and their interests but they have ultimately to devise ways and means to cater to their public, to attract it to some illusory plan, slogan or idea. They have to flatter the public even if it might be just to delude them. For this purpose at least, they have to mass psychology and changing study of public opinion.

Beaverbrook, Rothermere or Hearst became powers by reason of the influence they wielded on public opinion through the press. They rose to power or fell, on account of their papers. They had an uncanny sense of seizng on something new or bizarre which would catch public imagination. Their flair guided them in their policy.

MERE COMMODITY

In India the roles are reversed. The Birlas, Dalmias and others who made fabulous profits during the war are turning their attention to this field. The press has become a commodity like cotton, wheat or coal. The technique learnt and perfected in dealing with other articles of commerce is applied to this article also. The press market is being cornered. The great business magnates are trying to buy out at any price the existing newspapers lock, stock and barrel. Plans are also afoot to swamp the public with a spate of newspapers and periodicals.

The Birlas are running the Hindustan Times and have recently bought the Leader and the Searchlight. They are also publishing the Hindustan in Hindi. The Dalmias have bought a controlling share in the Times of India and are establishing a series of papers in Delhi. Other magnates are also proposing to come into the field.

A distinguishing feature of this new venture of Big Business is lavish expenditure without much regard for economy or standard journalistic usages. The salaries and outlay are on a princely scale, more reminiscent of an immense business cartel or the Viceroy's Executive Council. Rival groups are trying to outbid each other in getting the services of the leading journalists. It is a sore tempatation to even the most honest amongst them to take such easy money.

A DIFFERENCE

Not doubt here are press magnaes int India also and their role has to be considered separately. The Patrika group, the Goenka group, and others are all big interests but they wield their power through their papers. They cannot be classed with Papers owned by big industrialists. papers subsidised by particular interests are common all over the world but they still have an individuahty of their own and in that respect differ from those owned by industrial magnates. The ownership of a chain of papers as a part of Big Business is certainly a new phenomenon.

This drive for a virtual monopoly of the press in the country will most probably gather greater momentum during the next few years. We will have a flourishing crop of all sorts of papers and periodicals flooding the market.

We are at a most critical juncture in the development of Indian journalism. The freedom of thought and speech for which we are all fighting, was never in greater peril than today. These controlled papers are meant to publish news and articles which are considered harmless by the business bosses. News which might go against them or their allies will be vigorously suppressed. Complete blackout with regard to happenings in certain Indian states is even now pretty common. If their effort to capture 'the market' of Indian journalism succeds then we can say good-bye to freedom of thought and expression. We will be fed with manufactured thoughts and ideas and there will be no room for independent thoughts or new ideas.

OPPORTUNISM

A controlled press with big press barons is bad enough but a press con-

(Continued on page 25)

PRIVATE ARMIES

The evident growth of private armies in India has long caused disquiet. Before the war the main political parties all possessed volunteer organizations; but these were in general fairly well behaved and large scale communal antagonism was rare. The first organization to create serious trouble were the Khaksars; obviously modelling their uniform on that of the Hitler Labour Corps and their behaviour on that of the SA, they split policemen's heads open with spades, converted mosques into fortresses, and had in the early part of the war to be suppressed by force. Since the war political uniforms have become a common sight. All parties proclaim - at least for the moment - non-violent intentions; unfortunately, whatever the intentions, the results have been very different. A Direct Action Day, a Noakhali Day, is prepared beforehand by military parades, banners and bands; it ends in slaughter and lamentation.

We do not intend to impute that the ordinary political volunteer, or, with some possible exceptions, the ordinary party leader, intends his volunteer organization to degenerate into a gang of storm troopers. The constitutions of such organizations are often on paper unexceptionable. The objects, for example, of the Congress Seva Dal are "to instil qualities of self-discipline, self-sacrifice, self-reliance etc; to promote national unity by rendering service to all; to improve the health and physique of the Indian people; "in times of emergency to act as a peace and relief brigade and undertake to protect the lives, honour and property of the people." Those of the Muslim National Guard are expressed in similar language and envisage similar worthy objects, though with Pakistan, not an Indian union, in view. The same with suitable modification is probably true of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and other bodies. It should be remembered, however, that language almost precisely similar was employed in their time by the Hitler Youth and the Italian Avanguardisti. Conceptions such as health, discipline, self-reliance and self-restraint are very worthy in themselves, twisted for political ends they can become the instruments of the vilest tyranny in recent history. Not long before the war a deputation of Hitler Youth visited London, and its members were seen on the streets in uniform. When this was drawn to the attention of the police, as flatly contrary to the Public Order Act, the police replied; "Oh, those are just boy scouts." So far as their manners and behaviour then were concerned, they might have been yet five years later some of those boys may have been running extermination camps.

India is still far from this ultimate degradation. A few young men, and some old enough to know better have talked big about a coming "show down," and some have even gone to the length of buying illegal arms through dubious channels. The number of these is almost certainly not yet so great as to cause serious alarm. Yet, even supposing that all or most of the political armies now existing are non-militant, their very existence serves to influence passons, which the mildest difference now seems enough to fan into a blaze. Britain, faced with a Fascist movement which never became more than a simple nuisance, prohibited wearing of political uniforms by Act of Parliament. In India a cap, white, green or red, or the portrait of a leader pinned to the shirt, is enough to distinguish partisans; even without badges a dhoti or a lungi, a tie or trousers, may serve to single a man out for attack; mere prohibition of uniforms would therefore do little to help. The time. however, has come for the Central Government seriously to consider banning organizations, if the parties will not dissovle them voluntarily. The objection to this in the Punjab was not the act but its manner of execution. It is useless for any party to claim that its own organization is of a special kind, and not objectionable. Even were this true, peace demands a self-denying ordinance. Congress, League, Mahasabha, to say nothing of other organizations, should make a simultaneous sacrifice - for the Central Government should do it for them.

—STATESMEN

LUNATIC

The Madras Legislative Assembly's recent ruling that "bungling" is unparliamentary has been more than bo Bombay's Municipal Corporation which, in a heated session, decided that the term "lunatic type" is not objectionable.

According to a reputable dictionary, "lunatic" means "insane," "mad" "frantic," and the mildest definition possible is "extremely foolish." In passing such language as parliamentary the Mayor must clearly have taken a most charitable view and interpreted "lunatic type" as meaning just "extremely foolish" members. Neverthelesss, such members as were present when the phrase "lunatic type" was hurled across the House could not have evaded the uncomfortable feeling that their sanity was being outrageously questioned.

Intonation may charge an apparently harmless word with highly objectionsble innuendoes; and it is left to the Speaker to give the final ruling. Everything is, therefore, done to preserve his dignity and authority. When Charles Wynn, a man with a notoriousiy high-pitched voice, stood for the Chair of the House of Commons in 1817. Canning opposed nim on the ground that members might be tempted to address him as "Mr. squeaker."

—TIMES OF INDIA

RUSSIAN INTERESTS IN EUROPE

President Truman's ringing denunciation of the Soviet's expansionist policy is couched in a language which Russia understands and respects. The successful practice of diplomacy calls for firmness and a sense of timing, both of which are in evidence in full measure in the U.S. President's outspoken address to the United States' Congress. Anglo-U.S. relations with Russia have to be straightened with straight talks backed by clenched fists. This is not jingoism but plain common sense. Exhortations aud appeals arouse only contempt and suspicion of tne men who rule Russia and are convinced tnat nothing more than an armed truce is possible with a capitalistic world dominated by the Western democracies. For better or worse, that is the Soviet view and the Anglo-American foreign policy will have to be adjusted accordingly. It is futile to cast wistful glances at the past and sigh for the lost unity forged in the fierce heat of the war. It is a frequent experience that coalitions which have been formed to resist a common danger tend to dissolve once that danger has been removed. The Quadruple Alliance, which had secured the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, very nearly dissolved in 1815 into a war between Great Britain and France on the one hand and Russia and Prussia on the other. The United Front which dad been formed during the First World War became sadly disunited during the Peace Conference of 1919. It is because of this danger that the partners to any coalition tend when victory has been assured, to deal very tentatively with the problems which victory has created. Caution and delay have not been wanting in the Allies' approach to the problems arising out of the war ruthlessly waged toa successful conclusion but they have not helped for historical and ideological reasons in bringing peace to the troubled world. It is getting increasingly evident that the essential problem is not so much to impose peace upon the defeated enemies as to reach a solid basis of agreement between the Allies themselves. And this basis will remain unattainable because Russia's territorial, political, economic and social objectives are in complete variance with those of her allies.

President Truman's thinly veiled ultimatum to Russia is grounded on realism. The Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe is fully established. She is now trying to push her way into the south to bring Greece and Turkey within her sphere of influence. The Greek Government. which has a solid majority in Parliament, is contending with an armed rebellion which is sponsored and abetted by Russia and her three satellites, Albania. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The purpose of this rebellion is to dismember Greece by detaching Macedonia and to establish a communist dictatorship in Athens. So far as Turkey is concerned the Russian demand for a "common defence of the Straits" is generally interpreted to mean the establishment of Russian bases on the Straits. That would be the equivalent of handing the Straits over to the Russians. The European part of Turkey would be separated from Anatolia and the country's own sea communications would be severed. If one bears in mind that Turkey is a peninsular power, depending on sea routes for her domestic communications, one can realise what this would mean. In case of war, she would be deprived of the use of either the Black Sea or the Mediterranean depending on whether her enemy was in the north or in the Mediterranean. She would be reduced to the position of a Russian satellite.

Furthermore, the Russian penetration into Turkey would completely upset the balance between the great land power in the North and the great sea power in the South, with Russia on the Straits, Eastern Mediterranean powers would be at her mercy. If Russia is herself anxious for her own safety against dangers threatening from the Mediterranean, the Mediterranean powers must likewise be equally anxious for their own safety against dangers threatening from the Black Sea. And America today, no less than Britain is vitally interested in preserving the integrity of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, both on the north and south, to prevent strangulation of her new trade routes. and the confiscation of her jealously guarded oil empire. This explains President Truman's very natural concern for Turkey and Greece. Uncle Sam is no Uncle Sap. America has carefully scrutinised her own interests before coming out openly on the side of Turkey and Greece and administering a stern warning to the Soviet.

Simultaneously with the President's revealing address to the Congress, Anglo-U.S Foreign Ministers at Moscow have lined up on the issue of Germany. In the guise of de-industrialisation Russia would like to impair permanently German economic rehabilitation. Every increase of misery in Germany would be a point gained for communism. And a Russo - German partnership would clearly dominate all Europe. These are some of the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle which will have to be fitted in properly to evolve the pattern of peace. Frankly, no such pattern can take shape in the near future. Only an academic critic would suggest that the Anglo-Saxon Group, itself united under the threat of a common danger from Russia, should ask the Soviet Foreign Minister at Moscow "Now tell us exactly what you want everywhere. What do you want in Germany, in Austria, on the Baltic, in the Adriatic, in the Danubian Basin, in the Straits, in the Middle East, in China, in the Pacific?" Russia wants every thing everywhere in the interest of her security and to make the world safe for communism. It is not possible to strike a lasting bargain with Russia except on her own terms. What the liberal Power can to keep her in leash is to maintain united vigilance and strength and to tell Russia firmly as Truman has done, "so far and no farther." This may mean uneasy peace but the alternative is surrender, for no arguments can shake the rigid Russian faith in her own dogma.

—PIONEER

★ NEW DELHI CALLING !! ★

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

The newspaper world of Northern India is agog with expectations. Many new papers are coming into existence, and many appearing from places far away are reported to be contemplating a move to New Delhi. Among the former are the *Indian News Chronicle* under the editorship of Mr. J. N. Sahni, of the *National Call*, with the famous cartoonist, Shankar, as its trump card. The *National call* will soon become an evening paper and appear in a new guise. It will have its own cartoonist, 'Kutty', who had so far been enlivening the columns of the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay. Those in the know of things say that 'Kutty' is the coming cartoonist of India. He has in any case been responsible for some of the best cartoons that have appeared of late in the Capital.

INDIAN NEWS CHRONICLE

The *Indian News Chronicle* threatens to be a serious rival of the *Hindustan Times*, which has for years been marching from strength to strength without any competition to speak of. Its management is aware of the competition in store for it, and is trying to make up for the losses it has incurred by several of its members crossing the floor, to use a political phrase, to join the *Indian News Chronicle*. It did not realise the magnitude of the loss entailed by Shankar's resignation until it heard that he had joined a rival firm next door. Messrs Sahni and Shankar are a formidable combination. With them are Messrs Krupanidhi and Tholal, two well-known leader writers. The former left the *Hindustan Times* a few weeks ago. The later has been with *National Call* for about two years and has made his mark in the capital by the strength and diction of his leaders. Both are veterans of the profession and it is easy to see that the *News Chronicle* will be a force to be reckoned with by the *Hindustan Times*.

HINDUSTHAN TIMES

The *Hindustan Times*, is also fortifying itself. The former editor of the *Pioneer*, Mr. Catley, who had so far been its Cairo correspondent, is being called to the Capital to take charge of the news section. Its original side is also being strengthened, but a catch is yet to be registered. The readers of the *Hindustan Times* are aware that the paper has made considerable strides in the foreign feild, but that does not seem to have aroused much enthusiasm among them. The fact of the matter is that Indians are not much interested in foreign affairs. They seem to think that the amount Reuter supplies them of foreign news is more than enough. Most of them in fact, skip over it while going through the day's news. It is therefore hardly an exaggeration to say that the efforts of the *Hindustan Times* to make its readers acquainted with what is happening in foreign lands, by keeping members of the staff in their capitals, have not borne fruit commensurate with the expenditure incurred in the enterprize. Indians are a homely race, who believe in the dictum of the newspaper magnate who said : "War in China is no news : a dog barking in your neigbourhood is news." Most Indian papers have yet to live up to that maxim—to their own great advantage.

NEW TIMES

The other daily coming out from the Capital in the near future is *New Times*. The organiser of this venture is a former Chief Reporter of the *Hindustan Times*, Mr. Moti Ram. Local leaders are helping him, chief among them being, according to reliable reports, Sir Shankar Lal, of the Delhi Cloth Mills. This paper is likely to contain more news about the Capital than any other daily of Delhi. Rumour has it that Mr. Moti Ram is likely to be joined by another prominent reporter in the Capital. The two together will certainly be able to make the paper more newsy as well as perhaps more noisy, and those who are inclined to turn up their noses at the presumption of juniors will perhaps be well advised to wait and see what young blood is capable of.

WORKING JOURNALISTS MAKE HAY !

One inevitable result of the threatened multiplication of news papers has been the welcome rise in salaries of newspapermen. Leader-writers, sub-editors, reporters, lino-operators, pressmen, all have shared the general increase of salaries. Newspapers began making money during the war, but refused to allow their workmen to share their prosperity, although they were not averse to exploiting their patriotism when the times were lean. The *Hindustan Times*, it must be said to its credit, was the pioneer in the path of higher salaries for the staff, but here too the difference in the salaries of those on top and others was unfair. The *Indian news Chronicle* and the *National call*, who are sister concerns, have now even a better paid staff than the *Hindustan Times*. Several offers from the new paper were ultimately rejected because the present employers of the recepients of those offers raised their salaries. The cycle of higher wages among journalists is moving still and affecting every newspaper in the

and. Journalism has ceased to be a mission in life. It is fast becoming a profession.

There have been persistent reports of the *National Herald* also coming over to the Capital in the near future. Goenka was reported to have bought the *Vanguard* of comrade M. N. Roy. But the report turned to be untrue. The paper has changed hands but the new proprietors are Seths of Jaipur. The paper is likely soon to c h a n g e its name as the proprietors find that it is not making much headway under the old title. The *Hindustan Standard* is also credited with the intention of moving to the Capital, but for the fact that there is no space in the Capital, either for residential or commercial and industrial purposes, it seems as if every newspaper in the country would have by this time come out with at least a Delhi edition. The more the merrier, say the local journalists.

GOENKA'S NEW AMERICAN WEEKLIES

Mr. Pothan Joseph and Goenka are on their way to the United States. Rumour has it that he has been deputed there to make arrangements for bringing out in India w e e k l i e s of the American type. Special paper and machinery will be required for the purpose and he will make arrangements for the same being shipped to India. India, especially the Capital, will soon be flooded with new weeklies and fortnightlies and monthlies, and it remains to be seen whether the advertising community will be able to feed the number which threaten to come into existence.

PAPER CONTROL

It is no longer necessary to obtain from Government for starting new papers. The reason, I understandard, is that the authorities got fed up with granting special permits. Every applicant it seems, was able to obtain the support of some big gun or other, with the result that an exception had to be made in every case. The exception in fact became the rule and Government ultimately decided to lift the control. The decision cannot be said to have been justified by the paper situation in the market, for while every body can start his daily or weekly or monthly, he cannot as easily buy the paper required for the purpose. This seems to be like putting a premium on black-marketting and is on a par with the lifting of controls on other commodities, which also had had an almost indentical effect. Prices of everything have gone up for no rhyme or reason at all, except that control has been lifted.

OUR VETERANS

The Capital these days is flooded with foreign journalists, among whom are Indians domiciled in foreign countries. The most prominent among the latter are Messrs Syed Hussain and Shridharani. The former has already received offers of editorship from dailies coming into existence but his price is said to be rather high for them. He is tipped for a job in the foregin service and we may soon see him appointed as one of India's Ambassadors. Considering that he is a man of great charm and tact, he certainly will fill any position of that service with distinction. Mr. Shridharani is the Special Representative of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in the United States. Both are back home after a long time. Both are there to watch the Constituent Assembly frame the Constitution of a free India. They are here, to put it in their own words, to witness the birth of a free India. What is happening today in the Punjab and what has already happened in Bengal and Behar is aptly described by them as "birth pangs". They are not in the least worried by the events.

CHANGE FOR THE BETTER !!

The more fashionable among the hotels of New Delhi are full of foreign journalists. Most of them are from the United States and Great Britain. The Americans are always friendly and meet you on equal terms. What is surprising is the respect with which English journalists have begun meeting Indian journalists. Gone are the days of snobbery when Indians could be referred to as niggers behind their backs, or at best treated with the utmost condescension face. They are no longer necessary evils in their own lands. Expediency demands that these people, who may soon have the power to turn what remains of Englishmen out of the country, should be treated with courtesy and e v e n Anglo-Indians have begun to feel that the time has come for them to change their outlook towards the "natives".

MR. BOKHARI QUITS A. I. R.

The Director-Generalship of All India Radio has changed hands. Mr. Chaudhri, who was Deputy Director some time ago, has taken over from Mr. Bokhari, Behind this simple announcement, which is a victory for the protagonists of Hindustani, lies an agitation several years old, increasing with intensity until the Government of India had to appoint committees to adjudicate in the matter. Mr. Bokhari, as a scholar of Urdu and Persian, was unable to appreciate the criticism levelled against the language used by All India Radio, that it is Persianised Urdu. He could not appreciate the criticism because the words which seemed absolutely simple to him were difficult to understand for the average North Indian, to say nothing of people from far off corners of the country. It was in fact his knowledge of the languages that disabled him and made him practically unfit for the job, if we agree that one of the main objects of All India Radio should be the popularisation of Hindustani. All India Radio has been in existence now for over fifteen years and nothing has yet been done to advance the cause of Hindustani by that organisation.

BOKHARI'S VAGARIES

Over and above that was, what can only be regarded as, conscious bias in favour of Muslim forms of address to the utter neglect of Hindu ways, which made it difficult to resist the conclusion that fanaticism was behind the language policy of All India Radio. Turkey under

(*Continued on page 12*)

MANHARAN ATAL–The Journalist Poet

By A. S. IYER

Prose writers are seldom poets. That is why Indian journalism has not produced one since Rudyard Kipling. When one comes to think of it, it is not a little strange that so many Indians should have written English poetry without denouncing British Imperialism in verse. It is stranger still that the British should have excited such widespread and deep-rooted animosity in the country without any indignant soul in it breaking forth into song either in English, which we have so freely used to denounce Britons, or in any of the 'vernaculars' of the country.

Manharan Atal in his "Wail of the East" breaks new ground and provides in many respects what may be called India's retort to Kipling. To resort to poetry because it is the most impressive and effective mode of presenting one's point of view is to reduce it to propaganda, it is true, but is not all propaganda? Kipling, with his rough-hammered verse, became the poet laureate of the British Empire because he reflected the mood of the average Briton. Atal with a quarter of a century devoted to journalism according to the dust-cover is his anti-thesis. The average Englishman will find it difficult to swallow what he says, but he will do well to mark, learn and digest from the pages of that little book.

The first thing to note about this poet is that he is a nationalist par excellence. Religion comes in for denunciation at his hands as forcibly as British imperialism. He is not only the poet of Indian nationalism but also that of agnosticism with whose broad tolerance the country is yet unfamiliar. His patriotic poems are among the most striking. "Brittania, Sheathe thy sword!" and "John Bull, India's robber-sentry"; the first lines of two of them are good examples of the contents. British imperialists thus commend themselves to the reader;

We blaze the trail of Sorrow,
Of Hunger, Want and Pain;
Blow bubbles for Tomorrow,
Today seize all amain.

The preface, which is also in verse, refers to them too:

Their songs in their imperial sway
Across the world are sung;
They won it with their sword but they
Will lose it with their tongue!

And yet again, in a poem on "Our Invaders", a historic review of them all:

With 'love thy neighbour as thyself'
Upon deceitful lips,
They take our gold for power and pelf
And give us pins and clips!

O Lord, who gave us everything,
Grant us this little boon:
The sense in unison to sing
Against a musketoon!

Then there is the advice to Britannia;

Restrain thy global greed,
Renounce thy cruel creed
Of violence and heed.

The Word so long ignored
Of thy acknowledged Lord,
Britannia, sheathe thy sword!

India's case against Britain is beautifully summed up. Indeed, the mind of the age is stamped upon the work. Some of the poems are full of venom; as for example, the following address to John Bull;

John Bull, India's robber sentry,
Here this day a Brahmin's curse!
O despoiler of my country,
Hear me in thy native verse!

A poem on "V-Day—1945" has the virtriolic ending:

Lord Almighty! As aggressive
Nations now perceive their fall,
Is Thy justice in abeyance
Or her sum of sinning small.

The reference is, of course, to England. But let no one imagine that this Brahmin has spared Brahminism. In "The Song of Faith" he says:

The casteless millions symboilse
The tyranny of ages;
Do they not tell us of the size
Of Hindu saints and sages?

The strain is anti-religious througout:

Reason's coming to its own:
Faith will be to pieces blown.

Journalese and colloquial and conversational English in verse is interspersed with exquisite pieces. Almost every piece seems to come straight from the heart in the most simple language. Rythm is natural to him, while there is a natural pause at the end of every line. His patriotism overflows his work:

A thousand times a day I chide my heart:
"My country is unfit for liberty";
And every time a moment later start
Athinking how we might perchance be free.

This is from a sonnet on "Our Leaders" and has the truthful ending:

To them is this historic role assigned;

Let self come first and India lag
behind.

This little book is full of sonnets. There are two on Subhas Chandra Bose, one on Lord Wavell (it is really a sonnet on Jawaharlal Nehru) one on Motilal Nehru and another on Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Atal is a philosopher of no mean order, a seeker after truth, and as such he has little praise for the organised forms of religion. Addressing Untruth he says :

Our Vanity's thy last refuge,
Untruth, thou knowest where to hide.
Can he be safe from thy deluge
Who in his fathers finds his pride ?

It is the religious fanaticism of the people of the country which makes him say :

Our soldiers see the rising sun,
Our friends pretend to spy the dawn ;
But Freedom's battle 's not begun,
They lie who say the war is on !

And again,

Freedom will not live in houses
Barred and bolted by Islam,
Brook restraints imposed upon her
By some ancient Krishna or Ram.

He has the power, born of insight, of summing up truth sententiously as in the following lines culled from his longest piece, "A Saint's Soliloquy":

Our senses take our leave when faith controls
The innermost recesses of our souls.

★

Truth is a goddess with a multitude
Of facets, each partakes its plenitude.

★

The humbles ego is a master mind
Proclaiming self the choicest of mankind.

★

The truth is very simple and it hails
From commonsense, devoid of learned trails

★

One little spark within the brain can make
Foundations of our mighty systems quake.

He brings this capa ity of summing up to bear on his poem on "Faith" :

My tongue dictates the truth that shall be mine,
All else is undiluted sin and crime.

and, again, in the same Piece :

Recital brings conviction to mankind
And helps us wrap our reason in a shroud.

Atal is, indeed, a cosmopolitan, and his poems deserve to be read wherever the English language is understood, Anti British poetry in English is something Englishmen have been wanting all these years to give them a proper perspective of themselves and their Empire !

(*Continued from page 10*)

Mustafa Kemal, it would be remembered, decided to expunge all Arabic words from the Turkish language. All India Radio, on the other hand, seemed to be in favour of using the foreign word in preference to the indigenous word, and the less intelligible in preference to the intelligible. Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore and other centres hail their listeners with "Adab Arz" every time the programme begins, while "Nam aste" is religiously avoided, when, as a matter of fact, there is no need for either Inspite of protests in almost all papers this has continued when the easy solution of stopping the use of the greeting altogether was staring Mr. Bokhari all these years in the face. Mr. Bokhari, however, courted his own dismissal. He thought he had so impressed Sardar Patel with his impartiality and ability that he demanded for himself the same scale of salary as obtains in the Capital for other Directors-General ; In the alternative, he said, he would like to go back to the Government College, Lahore, whose Principalship, now falling vacant, he was entitled to. The Home Member accepted the alter native placed before him by the Director-General of All India Radio.

The cause of Hindustani should be as dear to Muslims as to Hindus, for through Hindustani alone can India make educational headway. Nationalists do not insist on Arabic and Persian words being banned from the vocabulary. All that they say is that the language should be intelligible to as large a number of people as possible. This should be implicit in the policy underlying news announcements and talks. The Common man, both among Hindus and Muslims, is as ignorant of high-flown Urdu as of high-flown Hindi. The practice among some writers of using the longer word rather than the shorter is a sign of inferiority complex and an indication of poverty of intellect and lack of ideas. The desire to to show off takes possession of a writer when he has little to say on a subject. When he has a lot to say the desire to make himself intelligible to the largest number of people is so strong that his aim is to use the simplest possible language. In every literature the best lines are always in the simplest language. These are psychological truths which no one can deny. Only sheer perversity could have been responsible for the policy so far pursued by all India Radio in the matter of language to be used by its talkers and announcers, having regard particularly to the fact that the majority of its listeners are non-Muslims.

GIDDY HEIGHTS OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM

Romance of NEW YORK TIMES

By JULES ARCHER

They say in washington that every Government official begins his press conference by introducing the New York 'Times' reporters to each other. A highly plausible tale, because the 'Times' maintains 19 reporters in the nation's capital.

Although the 'Times' 551,000 circulation is fourth largest in New York, it reaches the most influential citizens, and the large Sunday edition has a readership of over a million. The 'Times' wields a national influence far out of proportion to its circulation and is read carefully by United States Congressmen.

The man who actually founded the paper in 1851 was Lt. Governor Henry J. Raymond of new York. But its greatness dates from 1896, when Cinconnati-born Adolph S. Ochs, one-time newsboy and printer's apprentice, raised the money to take over the slowly-expiring paper. At that time the 'Times' had barley 20,000 readers; the staff was less than 300. Today the 'Times' has 3,359 employees. of whom only 824 are in the editorial and news departments. It owns the famous wedge-shaped building on Times Square, the plant on West 43rd Street, and is now expanding to the adjacent building on West 44th.

The first Ochs 'Times' was twelve pages daily, 24 on Sundays. Today's average weekday issue contains more than 40 pages. On Sundays the 'Times' offers over 200 pages.

The present publisher, graying, middle aged Arthur Hays Sulzberger, is a very frank man. With refreshing candor he states publicly:

"Others have been as meking how to succeed in the newspaper business, and my answer on many occasions has been: 'Work hard, never watch the clock, polish the handle of the big front door and marry the Boss's daughter!' That's what I did in 1917.

"Mr. Ochs had one child and she is now Mrs. Sulzbeager, and I came to the 'Times' when I got out of the army at the end of the last war, when Mr. Ochs died. he left in trust the controlling stock of this company for the benefit of his grandchildren who happen to be Mrs. Sulzberger's children and mine.

"He named three trustees — General Julius Ochs Adler, Mrs. Sulzberger aud myself; and the fact that Mrs. Sulzberger and I get along pretty well explains my being publisher of the New York 'Times' It is no more complicated than that!"

LARGEST FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC NEWS SERVICE

If Sulzberger is monarch of all the 'Times' surveys, Managing Editor Edwin L. James, who joined the paper as a copy reader 31 years ago, is his prime minister. Under James is the largest foreign news service, the biggest domestic and local news-gathering system of any paper in the world. News from all over the globe pours into the third floor of the 'Times' building 'via' a complex communications network. This includes radio telephone, which enabled the 'Times' to be on the news-stands with a report of the invasion of the Marshall Islands only 68 minutes after the action; leased telegraph wires which on electric typewriters; teletype; telephone and cable: short wave radio including the remarkable Hellscriber, an automatic radio receiver which rescrambles radio code and translates into English on a continuous tape.

In its sound-proof wire room the 'Times' also uses four automatic "phone listeners." The machines record telephone reports on a special tape. when a typist is ready for them, he simply inserts the tape into an electro-magnetic machine which reproduces the original phone voice. The tipist shuts off the voice every ten words or so, while transcribing, by stepping on a foot pedal. The "poone listeners" are also used to record radio addresses of public figures who, as Roosevelt was fond of doing, deviate from their prepared speeches.

In a world where the tempo of news gets faster day by day, the "Times' has persistently pioneered in speedier communications. It introduced reporting from isolated outposts by shortwave radio. It developed the original method of transmitting photos coast to-coast over ordinary telepnone wires. It originated and manufactured a portable radiophoto sending and reeeiving set, which the Army Navy and the office of war Information took over for the war. And it gives its photographers a portable photo kit to develop and print their shots on the spot.

Now a "Times" photographer, sent into the woods to take shots of a crashed airliner, can develop and print his own pictures in a forest stream, get to the nearest phone and set up his portable transmitter. A call to New York—and a few moments later a clear

photo of the crash is ready to go to press.

Nineteen outside news agencies furnish the bulk of the wordage, the "Times" own news bureaus in American cities and abroad provide further coverage. In additon, 400 part time newspapermen working for local papers throughout the country furnish the "Times" with a round-up of sectional news.

150 REPORTERS FOR NEW YORK ALONE

James uses 150 reporters to cover the New York scene alone. Some have fixed assignments (City Hall, Police Headquarters) some special fields, politics, science, business, labour), and others stay on hand in the city room ready to rush out on assignments.

Phones are manned by a battery of rewrite men who take down stories called in by reporters. Even in this age, the humble telephone has performed such miracles for the "Times" as allowing newsmen sitting comfortably at the rewrite desk, to cover a revolution in Brazil, earthquake in Cuba, kidnapping in Colorado, train wreck in Georgia and shipwreck off Cape Cod.

More than 100 "Times" foregin correspondents are scattered over all the capitals and strategic news centres of the world. These handpicked men have the unenviable job of piecing together half-truths from government hand-outs, opposition charges, local papers and key personalities, to provide "Times" readers with a tempered approximation of oft-perplexing foreign news.

If any one individual attempted to cope with the flood of news pouring into West 43rd street each day, he would quickly be drowned. Dispatches are therefore diverted to six news desks, each manned by an editor with as many as 14 assistants.

Foregin news goes to the cable desk; states news to the telegraph desk; city add suburban stories to the city editor;sports and financial news to their respective slots obituaries and items on society theatre, movies music, art, night clubs, etc, go whole sale to the obituary desk.

Each editor's copyreaders check, verify and cut the stories, then write the headliness. When proofs come in, the editor makes sure the stories are fit to print—and libel proof.

Desk editors give the night Managing Editor and his staff, who sit in a railed-off section, advance summaries of the major news stories. This section then lays out page one and page one of the second news section. They also approve layouts of other pages submitted by the various desk editors.

Physical size of next day's edition is determined by Managing Editor James at 5:00 p.m. on the basis of estimates from each desk as to the number of columns required, and a like estimate from the business manager on advertising. If combined estimates don't workout to an easy division of pages for printing purposes, James either orders the omissions of some advertising or the addition of more space for news. The "Times" claims that during the paper-rationed war period it printed 15,000 more columns of news than any other paper, at a sacrifice of 4,500,000 lines of advertisements.

At 11:00 p.m. the first edition goes to press, followed by a second at 1:00 a.m. and a third at 2-30 a.m. The night Managing Editor usually goes off duty at 3-50 a.m. although he may hold the staff until 7 a.m. if big news is impending.

TWO-POUND SUNDAY EDITION

Editor of the two-pound Sunday edition is self-assured, round-faced Lester Markel. The Sunday magazine section goes to press the Wednesday before, which has decided drawbacks. Once the Magazine had gone to press with a lead article on Mexico's "greatest living man," General Obergon. It was a splendid piece—except that Obergon was assasinated three days before that edition hit the streets.

The Review of the week, which goes to press only three honrs ahead of the main news Section on Saturday night reviews the week's news. Some of the background information for this section comes out of the "Times" file which keeps clippings of some one million personalities. Some comes from direct queries wired to correspondents.

The "Times" Book Rview a respected giant in its field, is read as much for the essay-like style of its reviewers as for criticism. Because the reviews extract much of the book contents, the reader turns page 28 of the Book Review with the pleasurable sensation of having grown a good deal wiser.

The Sunday drama section is really an omnibus covering the stage, screen, music, art, radio and the dance; its 16-odd pages include news on travel, resorts, autos gardens, aviation, bridge and stamps.

Sunday's paper is rounded off with extensive sports coverage, a business-finance section, and the highly important classified ads, which in part explain the large Sunday circulation.

Although its editors firmly disclaim having any pet subjects, the "Times" has always shown a tremendous respect for science news. When Byrd went to the Antarctic in 1928, the "Times" sent along radio equipment and a reporter who shortwaved his articles.

The editorial page including "Letters to the "Times", is the province of Charles Merz, nominal editor of the paper. Working under him are the esteemed columnist, Anne O'Hare Mc Cormick, who won the 1937 Pultizer Prize as a foreign correspondent, and Arthur Krock, chief of the Washington Bureau and Pultizer Prize

(*Continued on page 16*)

STOLEN CONFESSIONS OF A SUB-EDITOR

By P. B. K. MENON, M. A.

"Alothough I am now a sub-editor, honestly I feel I have not yet discovered my exact profession: not that I profess nothing. Live if you dare in our society in these explosive days, without professing something. The law of the land will single you out with a particularly disagreeable warmth of attention and will ultimately bundle you away. You must be thankful then, if you land only in a lunatic assylum!!" Thus declared Ramu, the incorrigible sub-editor, from the depths of his blankets. He was running 103.F which is not some fever to have even for one who is as hopelessly a malaria-addict as our Ramu.

"And so, according to the fancy of the month, the whim of the week, the fashion of the day I assign to myself one profession or other. Thus I had been a journalist and a philosopher, a vagabond and priest. a politician and a pedlar, a communist, a socialist, buddist and capitalist within the capacity of each of these I had my share happiness. although it was not on the whole worth while; you must remember that I had during each day's profession its special pains and particular responsibilities to live down." Without a pause Ramu prattled on.

In none of his habitual moods could Ramu have ever surprised us: but it was a new one on us to see him in a confessional mood. His self revelations overwhelmed us, and we listened to his feverish prattings in voiceless awe.

"Whenever I pass on such calamitous 'reports' as what my neighbour is generally known to have told the panwalla at the street corner, I am in my journalistic vein. No quarters ever, even casually believe my words, though I always make it a point to report my 'scoops' only in the usually well informed circles of idlers! Do I despair when my stories prove ineffective? No; not ME. For, the Journalist in me is I believe, though enough not to worry at my own ineffectiveness," Ramu informed us and, for a moment paused to smile in proud complacency.

We were helpless listeners at his bed-side. All of us wanted to stop his blabberings. Firstly, we dared not; and secondly. his aged mother was hovering round the room seeking a consolation for herself, in telling us that it was a rightly harmless habit with her son Ramu to talk in his sleep.

"Sometimes I find myself in the company of seudo-intellectuals that form the crowd of the post-graduate through in the city. They openly condemn, one by one, all the policies of every political party in the country, In the beginning I watch how the wind blows and always make it a point to standard against these windy chatterings and brave the so-called sterms raised by the enlightened present generation. These are moments when I am a politician, and my camp for the hour depending on what the evening's company is up against to destroy."

Gaping in astonishment we looked at each other and quitely shrugged our shoulders. From our daily experiences with Ramu, both when on-duty and off duty, we knew that, in his steady fever of 103.F he was slowly getting tempered into a "callously truthful soul." We realised that he was under the influences of certain phenomenon over which he could have absolutely no control. Yet, the fact that we had to listen to him all owing his on fundamental weaknesses was to us something stupendous, strange and staggering.

"False arguments, points of strength for claims of weaknesses, stark nonsense for fond stupidities, active threats for idle fears, tit for tat, I always argue on without end, untill my evening intellectuals get lung-tired, sore-throated and impatient, and accept my strong opinions with luke-warm reservations and finally give me my evenings, coffee free. Unconvinced they glide out of my life: some for months, some for weeks, some for days, but, certainly none has yet left me for ever. Probably given the free choice all of them might have left me, but would I give them a chance? can afford it" Abruptly Ramu paused to perpetrate a long deep sigh that echoed all his dum regrets.

"Here I am in one of my varied professions, (a thoughtful pause occurs, when his brows met above his nose) yes, yes, that is it, aComrade as the term goes! And do I laugh at my evening out-bursts? Never—that is the word. For, if I were to start laughing at these, then I will have to sit up and laugh through every hour of my life." For all his high fever and our secret prayers, we could see no noticeable physical fatigue in Ramu. Strange indeed are the ways of the Gods towards Men!!

"Innuemerable such instances, willfully repeated, together constitute by far the total major woes of my modest life. I trust about in the honest dignity of a care-free Nobody: this is the only true talisman that I have till now found most effective in gaurding me from the city-tributions of this wanten century. This is an era of high-souding yet all the same meaningless ideologies, and to live among them I must chatter along," confession had such a compelling sincereity about it, that we almost unconsciously nodded our heads, and registered our tribute of applauses.

"I am on rare occasions compelled to listen to some nice chatter-box who can really feed me for day," pronounced Ramu. This was indeed a stunning revelation to many of us. We decided between ourselves: "Ramu is lost for us for ever;" Mr. Sahai, a Copy-holder, even suggested that, once Ramu had recovered from his fever, Agra would be the right place for him. We were extremely consoled when Proof-reader Pande Babu assured us that in its early stages, Agra can, in 99% of cases, cure any kind of mental disease. We sighed in transient relief.

"Magnanimously I allow," started Ramu, who according to us to then was to be a bed-ridden lunatic for life, "my day's guardian to tell me how he had gained, (through personal experiences of

his own) certain exclusive wisdom-bits as "It does't pay to be good in these forties, if you are trying to make your pile in the Disposals' I silently suffer the boredom and deliberately play that of a wise old old Philosopher, who is ever seeking ever fathoming in his own deep meditations on the Cause of all Causes. Let the war-made controtors run out their days: I am very tolerant and have ample patience to wait and watch." Ramu for all his lunatic cynicism, is not he lovable wise scoundrel?

The thermometer registered a stady 103· F; yet, the Sub-editor in Ramu maintained a kind of journalistic continuity to his delirious revelations. He continued: "When I dodge those to whom I owe small sums of money and send them fuming against each other, I am a Vagabond, by my own choice and conviction. I readily succeed in convincing myself that I need really never pay back my debt to my rich principals. At such rare moments of heroic decisions I am politically somewhere between a Communist and a Socialist. All the while I may be feeling in my heart that I am morally bound to clear my debts: but ethically I hate to spare the idiot. Herein is the Moralist in me!!'

By now it was getting impossible for any one of us to maintain the 'serenely melancholy face' which is the correct facial garb during attendence in a sick-friend's bed-room. In spite of all our honest efforts at diverting our attention from the lecturing Sub-editor we failed. We were compelled to listen to all that Ramu had to say in his shivering peak-malarial-hour. If only he talked in Malayalam: at least many of us would have been spared; but no, the Sub-editor must talk in *his* English!!

"And often one city becomes too hot for me," continued Ramu in an English pronounced as his own vernacular, "and someday in each city things come to an head compelling me to resign, pack-up my things and wait my chance to slip into some convenient train." Here he paused for a while only to start his clearer ellucidation.

"By convenient of course I mean that train on which I can have undisturbed sleep, even if it be on the floor of some third-class compartment.........with no easy chances of forced detrainment at awkward way-side stations! I must havemy full sleep during my travells—ticket or no ticket! The one thing I detest, and so avoid with sll precautions, in my life is the chance to drag memories of scolding abuses silently snffered from some disappointed ticket-checker.

We were all in despair. We felt it imperative that something must be done immediately to send Ramu to a quiet sleep. We applied all the ice we had in the house, at once on his head, face, and feet. But all to no purpose The fever raged and Ramu raved!

"Is there pleasure in these you might wonder. If only you knew. At each pose there is an inexhaustible fond of pleasure of watching the innocent idiocy of your fellowmen, who in spite of themselves try to make this world a livable spot. Indeed how dare they! Bha!! what a stupeadous Joke!!! Ahd Philosopher in me laugh, bu, the Common-Man in me, week, after weekgets painfully horase by shouting the slogans the current forthe day. Then, why do I do it? well, answer me first this: 'should not the Common-Man feed himself, at least for once, during each succeeding day?''

After this exhausting discourse there was an ominons silence among the folds of the heaped up blankets. Fearing for the worst, we watched the confessor's purning, flushed cheeks. There was a victorious smile on Ramus parted lios. In the hushed silence, we concluded that he must have dozed off to sleep.

Obviously the ice-bag has at lost won its battle against the soaring fever. Lest Ramu should wake up and coller me with his sickly reqqest to stay for the night, I discreetly took leave of his mother, and ran across dark lanes to reach at last main road and street-lights, which to me that might meant sanity and safety.

(*Continued from p. 14*)

winner for 1935 and 1938. This trio is largely responsible for the world-wide reputation of the "Times" editorial page.

Reputation pays big dividends in the newspaper field. The "Times" grosses more than two million dollars a month from its advertisers, the most among New York newspapers. Almost half comes from national business advertisers, about a third from New York stores and a quarter from users of the classified ad columns.

Although it is not widely known the "Tfmes" exercises almost as much editorial deliberations in its advertising columns as in the matter of news. It will not permit an advertiser to us superlatives. In copy headed for "Times" ad columns, best finest, and "greatest" are strictly taboo.

Editor James denies any political prejudices, or that policy is ever subservient to the advertising department.

"My pet aversion" he declares, "is the charge so often made in the 1,600 letters which reach my office daily that we "suppressed' some piece of news... In using one-fourth of the material at hand (125000 out of 1,000,000 words received daily) one is going to omit stories that a lot of people for reasons good and bad would like to see printed".

"Times" men themselves are some what more candid about the faults of their paper than their publishers or managing editor. "We commit our share of sins of commission in this business" admitted national correspondent James B. Resten. "I would not argue that the American press has always justified our special free dom under the Constitution, or that the American press has always been objective or honest which is the same thing. But I'm not at all sure that day in day out we don't commit more sins fo omission than commission.

"You can prodably find a few cases where somebody on the "Times" wrote a story up or played a story down because he happened to think that would please somebody in the management of the paper".

Most "Times" men insist however, that they never receive orders from above te slant or suppress news.

REVISION OF PRESS LAWS

Government Announce Personnel

The appointment of a Committee to review Press laws in British India, is announced by the Government of India in a resolution in the *Gazette of India* to-day.

The Committee will consist of Rai Bahadur Ganga Nath, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court and ex-Chief Justice of Kashmir State (Chairman), Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, Member, Council of State, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mehtha, Member, Council of State. Mr. Sri Prakasa, Member, Legislative Assembly, Diwan Chaman Lall, Member, Legislative Assembly, Mr. Siddiq Ali Khan, Member, Legislative Assembly, Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan, Editor of THE HINDU, Madras, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, Bombay and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Editor of the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, Calcutta and Allahabad (Members).

Mr. G. V. Bedekar, Deputy Secretary Home Department, Government of India, will act as Secretary to the Committee in addition to his other duties.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows :

(1) to examine and report to the Government on the laws regulating the Press in the principal countries of the world, including India ; and

(2) to recommend to the Government any measures of reform in the laws in British India considered expedient upon such review.

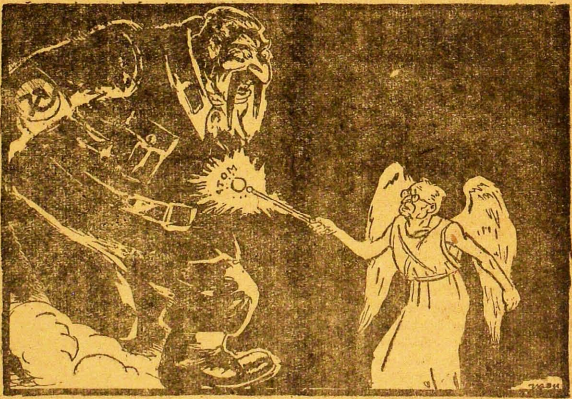
It is expected that the Committee will start its work at an early date, with New Delhi as its headquarters. It will visit such places in India as it may consider necessary and will take evidence on questions arising from the terms of reference. The Committee is authorised to call for information in writing and to take evidence from any department or officers of the Government on matters which fall within its terms of reference.

Persons who desire to be called as witnesses should apply in writing to the Secretary of the Committee, care of the Home Department, Government of India, New Delhi, giving their full names and addresses together with a brief memorandum of the points in regard to which they desire to give evidence.

The Government of India hope that the Provincial Governments will afford the Committee all the assistance which it may require and will supply it with any information or which it may ask.

The Committee has been appointed to meet a demand both from the Press and in the Legislature for a review of the laws relating to the Press with a view to bringing them into line with the Press laws of other progressive countries and to fulfil an undertaking which the Hon'ble the Home Member gave at a meeting of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference held on October 13, 1946, when he said that the Government would have no objection to setting up a Committee of officials, and non-officials including representatives of the Press, with a view to examining the repeal or modification of the existing Press laws in India —AP.I.

THE ATOM BOMB



By COURTESY PIONEER

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● With effect from 1st. April the Newsprint Control order has been relaxed and there will be free competition between individual newspapers for peak circulations. The position of periodicals is much worse and hence the need for greater vigilance.

THE NEWSPRINT FAMINE

By GUNTHER STEIN

There seems to be little hope for increased supplies to India of American newsprint, at least in the immediate future. This was the opinion of an American representative of the newsprint industry well acquainted with the international paper situation. He was sympathetic toward the plight of the Indian press, realizing that Indian newspapers are trying to make ends meet with the equivalent of some seven-tenths of one per cent of the United State's present newsprint consumption. But. short of an American depression that would lessen American demand, he saw no possibility of relief for India.

It was true, he said, that North American production—accounting for more than threh-quarters of world production—had greatly increased last year. With 5,276,953 tons, 22.3 more than in 1945, it has in fact set an all time record. But North American consumption, too, has been rising. The United States alone absorbed 4,296,268 tons in 1946 Its December consumption. taking up 93/8 present of the total December production in North America, Was on an annual level of about 4,800,000 tons. While it was not certain yet, I was told, that producers would actually be able to deliver newsprint at this high rate during the whole of 1947. demand in the United States would by no means be completly satisfied even it this level, were maintained. For judging from the desires of leading American newspaper concerns. requirements are now estimated at well over 5,000,000 tons per annum, while the present prosperity lasts.

INDIA'S MITE

By the side of these figures, Canadian and United States exports to India make a pathetic showing. During the first ten months of 1946, Canadian newsprint exports to India, Ceylon and Burma amounted to 13 999 tons (against 20,871 tons during the first ten months of 1945); and United States newsprint exports to India during the same periods increased only from 129 to 353 tons. These are the essential facts: The United States, with six per cent of the world's population, consumes between 70 and 80 per cent of the world's estimated newsprint production. Its powerful newsprint producing and consuming concerns virtually control the great Candian newsprint mills. And there is no reason to expect that they will change their attitude toward the needs of other countries which is determined by no other than immediate business considerations. It seems that these closely connected, powerful groups have little more than a smile for the suggestion Sir Walter Layton. the chairman of the *News Chronicle* and the *Economist* made last October. that the United Nations should take up the problem of the world wide shortage of newsprint. Their opinion is that such a step could "led to nothing but a lot of talk.

SCANDINAVIA

Nor is it expected in the United States that the Scandinavian countries—the second largest source of supply—will be able to increase their newsprint production decisively in the near future. American newsprint circles estimate that Sweden Norway and Finland between them may actually have produced from 456,000 to 505,000 tons of newsprint in 1946. against a total of 400,000 tons in 1945. But it is believed that it will take Scandinavia considerable time before its present capacity of 965,000 tons can be used and before even its actual pre-war production of 892,000 tons can again be reached. "Yes, if India could bargain some coal against additional newsprint' there might be the possibility of a deal." my informant said half jokingly. for Scandinavian newsprint manufacturers could easily produce more if they got more coal.

He hinted in the same mood at the possibility that Russia might be a potential supplier. While herself still short of newsprint. in spite of the supplies she receives from Finland on reparations account. Russia has recently made some shipments of newsprint to one or two Latin American countries whose press also found itself in a precarious situation.

AMERICAN DEPRESSION

Altogether, I was told. the situation would probably remain grim for courtries like India and England "until an American depression might some day change the picture quickly and radically and make increased exports of newsprint necessary for North American producers......of course, unless an American depression had such repercussions abroad that it also reduced the needs of other countries for newsprint.'' But it seems that a good deal less than a full-fledged depression would help to make more North American newsprint available for the outside world. A comparatively mild dip in the business cycle of the United States such as most American economists are predicting for this year, might

change the attitude of the newsprint industry toward foreign customers.

The circulation of magazines in the United States already shows some tendency to fall off from its record heights. as sale do in a number of other American industries. The circulation of newspapers, too, may be affected by the people's lagging purchasing power; especially since a number of them, like the New York *Herald-Tribune* have recently increased their prices. in consonance with the cost of newsprint. It may not take very long until newsprint manufacturers not knowing how far a domestic business recession might go, will follow the lead of traditionally more export-minded industries which are trying, in spite of continuing scarcities, to increase deliveries to foreign customers in order to secure their goodwill for the coming times of decreasing domestic demand. It would therefore, not be surprising if India, as a good potential client for the future, were to meet more satisfactory treatment within a relatively short time.

India, England and other countries whose press suffers badly from the paper shortage are not the only complaints against the large newspaper concerns in the United States which virtually monopolize the bulk of the newsprint output in North America.

The small American press is in the same predicament. It has at last found a spokesman in one of the most liberal and respected of Democratic Party leaders. Senater James E. Murry who, indirectly at least, is also sponsoring the cause of countries that try in vain to buy more newsprint in North America. As chairman of the Senate's Small Business Committee which tries to fight monopoly wherever it devolops to the detriment of weak competitors. Mr. Murray has launched a campaign against the "three groups corporate giants, the big newspapers, the mass magazines and the great newsprint mill operators," whith according to him "control the newsqrint industry with regard to their policies of production, price and distribution."

MONOPOLY

"There is almost no such thing." the Senator said, "as an open newsprint market in which small papers may bid for and buy the paper they need. During the war, the Government protected their supplies and held the price for them. But now, thousands of small publications. daily weekly, religious, farm, labour, trade, fraternal foreign language, are defenceless in the face of growing big publisher-big-mill arrangements which cut small users out........." (and, he might have added, do the same to newsprint-starved countries like India, whose annual requirements represent no more than three days'newspaper consumption in the United States) Citing a report of the Federal Trade Commission to the Attorney General of the United States made in 1939 about operations in the paper industry, which have so far been kept secret Senator Murray emphasized that it "laid bare the problems of monopoly which are largely responsible for the hazardous situation now confronting our small newspapers It shows that the prices for newsqrint (and apparently the distribution policies) are set at private meetings in Canada. outside the jurisdiction of the anti-trust division of the United States Department of Justice or tho Federal Trade Commission"—the two Washington agencies in charge of detecting and breaking up monopolies.

LITTLE EXPANSION

It is this monopoly practice which has also presented the present scarcity situation from leading to the expansion of the newsprint industry's productive capacity which, no doubt, would have taken place in a normal competitive situation, only three new newsprint machines are at present on order by mills in Canada, Newfoundland and the United States. By 1948 or so, when they are expected to get to production, they will add little more than 150,000 tons per annum to the present North American capacity of between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 tons per annum. The North American newsprint interests are apparently determined to keep their capacity within its present bounds. They insist that they were too badly caught in the depression of the 1930's. when newsprint went begging at cost price. to risk the recurrence of large-scale overproduction. The concentration of the industry in comparatively few and elosely co-operating Canadian-American concerns. which on their part are more or less intimately connected with the big American newspaper firms, allows the industry to control its productive capacity without difficulty. The fact that about 86 percent of the total North American production is now located outside the United States. in Canada and Newfoundland, removes it from the supervision of the anti-monopoly authorities in Washington, although a large part of the mills are at least partly owned by United States interests.

POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The present political situation in the United States in which Big Business has increased its influence under a Republican majority is not very auspicious for the fight against monopoly. But that fight continues under the leadership of liberals in both the Democratic and Requblican Parties as it did decade after decade. ever since the great "trust boosting" campaign of President Theodore Roosevelt at the beginning of this century, with the moral support of the great majority of the American public. The State Department's endeavours to break down international trade barriers, including those created by monopoly. and its courageous insistence on doing so at home as well as abroad, make it seem possible that the newsprint probiem may eventually be raised on that level, too. In spite of the resistance of the vested interests in North America, it may still be brought up in the United Nations, unless a business recession in the United States, by reducing the present record demand for newsprient of the large American newspapers temporarily solves the problem.—HINDUSTHAN TIMES.

INDIAN BUDGETS FOR 1947-48

● The Budgets presented by the Centre and Provincial Governments make an interesting study of the future of Indian eeonomic trends and show a great departure from the usual rut.

Budgets can make or break governments and the central budget might have broken the Interim Government but for the strong personalities that man it. Neither the heterodoxy of the budget nor the language used by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in his speech justified the alarmist stampede to panic that Big Business sought to engineer. If this is a foretaste of the rearguard action that capitalism will fight in this country, it has not served the purpose of the merchant princes who met in Delhi and through their federation stated that the new tax on profits would tend to bring about deflationary forces, would kill private enterprise, stifle production and destroy India's industrial future. that the capital which was required for new industries would be scared away. Equally alarming was the view taken by Cive Street and Mr. Griffiths, the spokesman of the British business community in the Central Assembly, who stated that for the first time an Indian budget was framed not on purely financial considerations or for preservation of financial stability but upon the achievement of certain social objectives. This is the essence of the battle, the real difference point of view between the Interim Government and Big Business. Pure finance is as nonsensical as pure politics and as useless as pure science. The Indian people will not be impressed by any financial jugglery. Jawaharlal Nehru, in yet another of his magnificent speeches, explained the correct view of national economy to the Federation of Indian Chambers. If the budget should be considered from the stand point of achieving the ultimate objective of increasing the well being of the 400millions of people, planning must be big and if planning must be big they must go about in a big way. The question plainly is how far and how long the industrialists are of use to the development of the country. If only till tomorrow, they go tomorrow. If only till today, they go today. They may create a crisis but a crisis will produce only a revolution.

Apart from the narrow minded and shallow criticism—and Jawaharlal Nehru gave the assurance that if there were alternatives the Govrnment were bound to cosider them—the strategy displayed by Big Business in recent days has been sickening cant and deplorable hypocrisy. The industrialists have tried to create a panic like the panic which British Big Business created to compel Ramsay MacDonald in 1931 to give up a genuine socialist policy and to truckle to the Conservatives. Fears have been roused, instability has been encouraged and attempts have been made to bully the Government. And in this process the charactor of the dominant sections of our press have been sadly shown up. The special correspondent of a leading paper in Delhi had to contradict himself thrice in the course of three days.

First, it was said that the budget was the budget of the entire Interim Government; next it was made out that it was the budget of a section and that Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Matthai, asked to consider the budget proposals along with the Finance Member, had been either bluffed or cheated and were later repudiated by other members of the cabinet; next the retreat began with the soft answers at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers. The extent of the danger of capitalist control of the press and the impossibility of full socialist economy being put through without an all-out attack on all capitalist factors have been amply illustrated. The Indian public will gladly take note of it and the capitalists will one day repent for it.

The criticism of the budget has centred mainly on the tax on business profits and the tax on capital gains. The critics say that it would lead to anomalies and evil consequences if there is a flat 25 per cent tax on the entire pro, fits of all businesses save a lakh. irrespective of the capital employed, the risks and the resources This is said to be only the E.P.T. in a new and cruder form. The criticism of the tax on capital gains assumes that after the endless dificulties presented by the American example it seems useless that in times of depression when the state needs money most it will yield least, and that the remarkable gains during these years were due merely to inflation. It may be answered with regard to the tax on profits that it would merely harping to criticise it till its objects and reasons are fully explained in a bill and that it is a good thing to apply it to professions and vocations which somewhat unfairly escaped the excess profit tax. The nothing crude or refind about it; it will be a tax that will take the place of the E.P.T. prematurely lifted last year and industry can bear it With regard to the tax on capital gains, the Finance Member explained that the lower imports on assets have for more than two years was a concession to the genuine investor or property owner as against the speculator or market operator; the ignoring of profits and losses not exceeding Rs. 5,000 was also realistic. The only real criticism that could be offered on this score was that the causes of inflation should be attended to and not merely the symptoms. Much of the criticism arises from the fact that there has been no deep inquiry into the taxation system in the country.

The last inquiry was undertaken more than 20 years ago. Last year Sir Archibald Rowlands envisaged the setting up of a taxation inquiry committee with the main purpose of ascertaining what adjustments and modification of the taxation system as a whole were required. But such an inquiry seems to have been deferred for the present in view of the uncertain fluid political situation. The remarks of the Finance Member on the necessity and urgency of regional planning have also created doubts and suspicions but this is also a matter that depends upon the future political arrangements Economic regionalism may be taken for the present as a parallel to the grouping system of the Caibnet Mission plan.

It is from the the point of view of the unity of India that we welcome the budget as a move towards socialism. It is not only a test of Congress-League collaboration but of Hindu-Muslim cooperation in national economy. We have now found a cementing factor in an otherwise dissolving coalition. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari made it clear that it was not meant to kill private enterprise. Private interprise not to be killed so easily. But if the capitalists think that they have convinced the country that they have reached the limit of tax burden, they are. mistaken. We are glad that the Finance Member has taken quite a strong attitude and while defending taxation measures, has given a warning to the industrialists. He has reinforced his arguments in his speech on the motion to refer to select committees his three bills. The Interim Government do not want production to decrease; only the industrialists must help the process by making the maximum sacrifices. The refusal to have a profits in some way or another, the refusal to surrender a share of unearned income, the engineering of strikes in the stock exchanges. and the panic created through the capitalist-controlled press have all served to show that Big Business is reluctant to yield to national planning with far-reaching social objectives. It is a heavy test for the legislators, for they have to show that they speak for the people and not for those who at present dominate, our economic life. If the industrialists wanted further arguments, Dr. John Matthai, with his intimate knowledge of Big Business, supplied them. In his spech he showed how both from the point of view of production, of private enterprise, of rates and profits, of inflation and deflation, the budget was fair and that to criticise it as it had been criticised was to force the issue "whether it is in India' interest to continue private enterprise, whether it is in India's interest that capitalism should have a longer lease of life." Nationalisation is nearer than ever, thanks to the tactics of Big Business, and they only question whether the leading industrialists who have been planning for plenty on paper are patriots or only the creams of their class who have produced economic crisis in every country in the world.

—NATIONAL HERALD

LEST WE FORGET

—By COURTESY HINDUSTHAN TIMES

PROVINCIAL BUDGETS

That Ministries are now well under way with the plans for long term development is the impression left by Provincial Budgets so far presented. Last year the ideas who still in the main think of Section 93 Admintration, but popular Ministries are now in their stride and have made a brave showing with proposals for the future. The uncertainties of the times have not, however, been overlooked. Besides the ever-present danger of insufficient or excessive rain, with its consequence of reduced land revenue and other receipts, there is the possibility of a fall in agricultural prices from higher levels. At present however, inflation persists and receipts continue to reflect the comparative prosperity of the war years. That explains the note of warning in some of the speeches. Sind is told that its surplus of Rs. 1. 13 lakhs marks a deficit of Rs. 78 lakhs, as estimate revenue includes land sales, really a capital transaction and a very profitable one at that; the fact is that Sind is living on its capital. The C.P. Finance Minister budgets for a fall in lucrative forest receipts and suggests that this valuable asset has suffered some deterioration in the war owing to excessive exploitation a defect that the Ministry intends to correct. In the C.P., a sharp drop in revenue is expected owing to damage to the rabi crop.

Though the subject is hardly mentioned explicitly, constitutional uncertainties also impose caution on framers of Budgets. Important heads of Provincial revenue and exdediture as well as the Centre's power to make grants may be strongly affected by future events. All Provinces have ambitious development schemes, in which compulsory primary education, public health and the growing of more food figure prominently. Some, like rain-starved Sind, are pushing ahead with irrigation schemes or like Bihar, with multi-purpose hydro-electric projects; others, like Bombay and Orissa, plan the uplift of aborigines and other backward classes; the C.P. wishes to balance its predominantly agricultural economy with a measure of industrialization. These schemes, long thought over, will be costly, and to this outlay are added other expensive items some of which are perhaps avoidable. No one will oppose higher pay for the poorer classes of Government servant, especially teachers. Heavy commitments have not, however, deterred some Governments from engaging heavily in Prohibition, which in the U.P., for instance, is to cost Rs. 60 lakhs in the "token" stage. Madras, in some ways a pioneer in Prohibition, is also giving up Rs 18.5 lakhs by the abolition of betting on racecourses. Whatever the intrinsic merits of these proposals, it is of questionable wisdom in the circumtances to surrender so much revenue.

Expenditure on law and order is a heavy item, although political parties readiness to spend more on the police is a refreshing contrast to their general attitude ten years ago, however deplorable may be the necessity for such increase in expenditure. Bihar and one or two other Provinces have to provide for rehabilitation of riot victims, while Sind's expenditure on law and order, Rs. 172 lakhs in 1947-48 rising to Rs. 205 lakhs five years hence, stands in a class by itself, arising as it does, in the Premier's words, from mistaken generosity in the past towards one section of the community, the Hurs.

With few exceptions, Provinces have been able to build up post-war reconstruction founds of respectable dimensions, but all still rely heavily on the Centre for grants. They will therefore have noticed the reserve with which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan mentioned this subject in his Budget speech. The Centre's financial pasition is not so satisfactory as was hoped when the scheme for grants was announced. There are also constitutional perplexities. Preference, he said, should be given to schemes expanding productive capicity, while Provincial Governments must not be timid in exploiting their own powers of taxing and borrowing. The Centre is evidently keeping a close watch on projects submitted to it, as one administration incurred severe criticism for putting up a Rs. 40 crore plan in which no less than Rs. 25 crores expenditure was allotted to non-productive purposes, with heavy recurring charges. As regards taxation, the sale of goods, entertainment and petrol are the usual targets, but the U.P. Government is again devoting attention to zamindars by proposing a stiff surcharge on the land revenue that they pay.

A few Governments refer to retrenchment, but without much apparent confidence. The effect of planning, including nationalization would in fact seem to necessitate a large increase of staff Bombay's Finance Minister pointed out that administrative diffuclties, particularly lack of trained men, imposed a limit of the Ministry's ability to extend the principle of public ownership. Aware of the shortage of trained personnel, the C.P. Ministry nevertheless refuses to act on the Hindi saying "The swan prefers to starve rather than eat anything except pearls." To meet urgent needs the Ministry is even ready to sacrifice efficiency. A Medical School's course is to be reduced by a year, and matriculates are to be "drafted in" instead of intermediates. Matriculates and graduates are to be "conscripted" so that universal education may not have to wait until teachers are available. To treat the people's requirements as national emergencies in this way at any rate shows boldness.

—STATESMAN

★ THE ANSWER ★

No patriotic Indian can regard recent developments in the Punjab with feelings other than those of the most profound regret. During the war the province - proudly claimed to be "the sword arm of India" - had a record of wholehearted unity which was an inspiration to the rest of the country. Under a Unionist Party Government people of all classes and creeds worked with a will for one common object - the victory of the Allies. It was inevitable, of course that the Panjab should feel the impact of post-war political - dissensions as the date of India's complete self-government drew near. In this respect the province occupied - and still occupies - a key position since, as we pointed out last week, it constitutes a remarkable microcosm of the all-India issue. All parties must share the blame for the disaster which has turned this prosperous land of the five rivers from peace to communal destruction and bloodshed. Many motives are being attributed to Sir Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana for submitting the resignation of the Coalition Ministry; all kinds of people, including the Viceroy and the Governor, are being accused of "conspiring" to bring about the Government's downfall. This is a futile procedure.

REAL REASON

Surely the real reason for the ex-Premier's action was the obvious one he gave. When the followers of the strongest political party in the province embarked - quite wrongly in our opinion - on a civil disobedience campaign, the Punjab Government emerged badly shaken from the ordeal owing to its inherent weakness. With the announcement of the British Government's intention to leave the country next year, Sir Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana was justified in deciding that the field had to be left clear for the Muslim League - the strongest party in the province - "to come to such "arrangement vis-a-vis the other parties as it might consider best in the interests of "the Muslims and the province." But the league was not given a chance by the other parties to do so; barely had its leaders commenced negotiations with the minorities when there was an outburst of a far from nonviolent agitation against "a communal ministry" and Pakistan. It was inevitable that this misguided outbreak should take a purely communal turn. Today we see the result in smouldering villages, looted shops and houses in the cities, and a formidable toll of dead and injured.

WAY OUT

There is no point at this stage in attempting to apportion blame for the shambles in the Punjab; that will get us nowhere. What must be done is that our party leaders, in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, should treat the Punjab as a test case and apply remedies which will automatically solve the all-India imbroglio. The only way to achieve this end, as we pointed out at the time of the British Government's historic declaration, is for the parties to get together round a table. Over a week ago the Congress Working Committee at its meeting in New Delhi passed a resolution inviting the All-India Muslim League conference. There was no ambiguity about the invitation. "In view," the resolution said, of "the new developments which "are leading to a swift transfer of power in India, it has become incumbent on the people of India to prepare themselves jointly and co-operatively for "this change so that this may "be effected peacefully and to "the advantage of all. The Working Committee therefore invite the All-India muslim League to nominate representatives to meet representatives of the Congress in order to consider the situation that has arisen and to devise means to meet it." The resolution went on to state that the Working Committee would keep in touch with representatives of the Sikhs and other groups concerned so as to ensure their co-operation. We see no reason why the Sikhs and other parties should not be invited to the conference; their presence, it seems to us, is necessary to ensure the widest possible measure of agreement. But that aspect does not alter the straightforward character of the Congress invitation.

NO RESPONSE

So far there has been no official response from the League side to the Congress offer. Mr. Jinnah has not yet summoned a meeting of the League executive to discuss it. We have had instead much criticism from League quarters of certain points in other resolutions of the Congress Working Committee passed at the same time. It is alleged, for example, that the Congress is bent on destroying the unity of the Punjab by dividing the province in two, and loud protests are being voiced on this issue. Careful reading of the Congress resolution clearly shows that the division of the Punjab is contemplated only if other measures fail. Emphasissing that no settlement in the Punjab based on coercion can last - an obvious statement of fact - the resolution commends partition as "a way out which involves the least amount of coercion." Congress leaders justify the suggestion by pointing out that if agreement between the major communities is impossible, then what "must happen on the all-India plane must happen on the provincial plane as well." But Congress opinion is by no means unanimous on dividing the Punjab - Mr. Gandhi, for example, is strongly against it - nor is Hindu opinion altogether in support. Hitherto the minorities in the Punjab have been as solidly in favour of Punjab unity as the Muslims. Yet the Muslim League cannot have it both ways. If the League demands unadulterated Pakistan, it cannot in reason object to parts of the Punjab where Muslims are in a minority being separated from the rest of the province.

TIME TO SETTLE

The time has come to settle one way or the other not merely the Punjab issue but the all-India issue of which it is a part. That cannot be done by the parties standing at arm's length and shouting accusations, objurgations suspicions, challenges and defiance at each other. In the words of Omar Khayyam, in this type of argument they are going out by the same door as in they went. The net result of the procedure hitherto adopted is the type of tragedy India has witnessed in Bengal, Bombay, Bihar and now in the Punjab, with a danger of it spreading to the North-West Frontier Province on something like the same scale. Clearly the initiative now rests with Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. If they refuse to enter the Constituent Assembly they should accept the Congress invitation to a conference. No useful purpose is served by talking of reservations and conditions by either side; all these matters can be dealt with in discussion. And all must remember that the time left is short.

---TIMES OF INDIA

PROBLEM OF EXCLUDED AREAS

Four out of every 100 Indians live in territories about which we know very little. Dispersed over ten provinces, 3, 361,131 people live in the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. Untouched by modern civilization, these communities of original natives of the soil have preserved their ancient way of life. Politics and industry have yet to make an impact on their social and economic structure.

The Excluded and the Partially Excluded Areas of India are spread over 117,146 square miles. The largest single block cuts into the boundaries of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces. This Block is in a way the homeland of the aboriginal tribes. Almost one-fourth of Assam's population is tribal, one-fith of Orissa, one-sixth of the Central Provinces and one-seventh of Bihar.

The Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas until now have been administered by Governors without the active co-operation of the Provincial or Central Legislatures. "These enclaves," according to a Secretary of State for India, "are so backward that no parliamentary legislation ought to apply to them." Provincial legislatures cannot vote on the funds necessary for the administration of these areas.

From time to time, Governors have been issuing special rules according to which these areas have been governed, but the popular ministries have little hand in the making or modification of these rules. The Simon Commission justified this policy on the assumption that the inhabitants of these areas did not need political advance so much as experienced and sympathetic handling. Popular legislatures and ministries were not supposed to have this experience or sympathy.

The 1935 Act made one small concession. The iron wall around these segregated areas was withdrawn a little and a new nomenclature - Partially Excluded Areas - came into being. Symbolic representation was granted to the Partially Excluded Areas in provincial legislatures. Governors were given the option to apply provincial laws to these areas if they so desired. But the ultimate authority of the Governors over the administration of these areas remained.

Popular legislatures, notably in Assam, Bihar and Orissa, occasionally protested against this autocratic scheme of things, but to no avail. Suggestions to give over the control of these areas to the elected representatives of the people were turned down and provincial legislatures asked to wait till the next step in India's political evolution.

The Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 ushered in a new development. The proposed Constituent Assembly was to set up an Advisory Committee to formulate a scheme for the administration of the Excluded Areas and to advise whether rights should be incorporated in the provincial, the group or the Union constitution.

The Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly has already met. It has appointed two sub-committees to go into the details of the question. What are the problems these sub-committees have to face? What will be the future of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas in the new constitution?

The first problem, of course, is to prevent these backward areas remaining backward for ever. Special treatment of the problems affecting the aboriginals may be necessary for a certain period. But ultimately, assimilation of these tribes in the General scheme of things is preferable to their perpetual segregation.

To preserve aboriginal tribes as picturesque survivals may interest anthropologists but human beings cannot be kept down merely to provide befitting museum pieces. The problem is to devise methods by which these people may be admitted to the civilized fold. Rapid transformation is neither possible nor desirable. Any rude shock to communities accustomed to an ancient way of life, however well intentioned may do more harm than good. Transition has to be slow and progressive.

Governments have so far been guilty of either neglecting these areas or enforcing unsuitable laws on them. The aboriginals have had little voice in determining how they wish to be governed. The Governors' obligations for administering these areas will have to be replaced by similar obligations enjoined upon legislatures and popular ministries.

The record of Governors' administration over these areas has not been good. The sympathy and understanding which these bureaucrats professed was no more than skin deep. Their appreciation of the real need of the aboriginals wa so academic that under Governors' rule, the material or moral welfare of these tribes was not promoted.

Pending their final regeneration, the backward tribes have to be shielded from one immediate danger. Increased contact with the more advanced communities can and has resulted in the economic exploitation of the aboriginals. Deliberate exploitation by Provincial Governments may not have occurred. But provincial development policies have sometimes acted against the interest of the backward tribes. The cheap and plentiful labour in aboriginal areas has been exploited by governmental and private foresters. Cases of these tribes having been paid less than one anna per coolie for a ten-hour day have not been unknown. Neither has physical cruelty or enforced labour been unknown in the Excluded Areas.

The aboriginal is shy as a forest animal and capable of being unjustly prevailed upon. He is not ferocious to strangers, but is afraid of them. Private foresters have exploited this fear and made virtual slaves of aboriginals working for them.

The aboriginals have also been kept back from being anything but unskilled labourers. There are very few aboriginal blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters or tailors. Artisans in aboriginal villages are all foreigners'. Money-lenders and petty Government officials exploit them as no where in India. The normal process of law affords no protection to these backward and poverty-stricken people. Since non-aboriginals are the main exploiters, the

aboriginals must go to ordinary civil courts for redress. This they have neither the resources nor the intelligence to do.

Until they are raised to proper civilized life, the aboriginals will need a simple and ready system of law and administration. The Sapru Committee recommended that a special Minority Commission should be set up to administer these areas. The present tendency, however, is to bring these areas within the control of provincial executives and legislatures.

Some of the Excluded Areas are not backward but inaccessible. Lahul and Sipti in the Punjab, for example, have been classed as Excluded on account of their inaccessibility.

Methods have to be devised to enfranchise these tracts of land. A cautious process of enfranchisement may also be attempted in the case of other Excluded Areas. The problem is to find suitable persons capable of representing the backward communities who have yet to learn the significance of a vote. The possibility of effective representation either by indirect election or by modified franchise needs to be examined. Tribal councils may be given the right of selecting their representatives. It may be necessary to declare some of the Excluded Areas not franchised for the time being. But the position should not rest there. By systematic evolution, the unfranchised areas must ultimately by franchised. The limited franchise in the Partially Excluded areas should be gradually extended. The aboriginals must be assured increasing association with the machinery of Government.

The points to be determined by the sub-committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly are:

(a) Determination of areas and tribes which will not be able to share in the administration of the country for some time to come.

(b) The mode and extent of representation to be allowed to areas not completely backward.

(c) provisions for enforcing social and economic legislation in areas where the ordinary processes of law are of no avail.

(d) Special provisions for preventing the cultural and economic exploitation of the aboriginals.

(e) Institution of a special agency for periodic examination of the condition of the backward areas. This agency must ensure that the contemplated evolution of the tribes into civilized communities is taking place.

(f) Institution of a simplified system of law and courts of justice in the backward areas.

(g) Determination of whether the Provincial, the Group or the Union Constitution should provide for the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

—HINDUSTHAN TIMES

(Continued from page 6)

trolled by big industrialists or financiers is worse still and we must fight tooth and nail this attempt to convert the Indian press into a handmaiden of Big Industry. Even the big press magnates are not pursuing a policy which might increase the confidence of the public. Their attitude can ,at the best, be called opportunist. They try to avoid facts and opinions which appear 'risky or 'controversial.' Their tendency at present looks like coming nearer and nearer to Big Business. Probably they think that their interests are not so very different from the big industrialists. We therefore, find in the A.-I.N.E.C. an alarming 'raprochement between both the groups. The only effect of such an alignment will be the squeezing out of independent papers with scanty finances.

The abolition of paper control is going to make matters worse. Newsprint will be available only to those who can pay exorbitant black-market prices. Only those who have powerful financial support and can hoard suffiicient quantity of paper can hold out successfully in this keen competition. It is the death-knell of independent journals with small means. It appears as if the order was expressly issued to help the big combines in strengthening their hold. I am not, of course, imputing such a motive to C.R. Most probably he looks at it from the point of view of the administration and the numberless complexities control gives rise to. But the effect of the order is bound to be. in the present circumstances. harmful to the poorer papers, and one cannot avoid stressing this important point. In fact an unanimous recommendation like this by the Eastern Newspaper Society is in itself a suspicious move.

It is time that an enquiry commission is appointed to look into the financial sources of Indian newspapers and their means of income. Recently the British Parliament took such a step to make sure that no undue monetary or financial in fluence is being exercised on newspapers. It is even more necessary in this country to have such a commission. The Indian press is in a most lamentable condition and an inquiry is sure to reveal remarkable facts about the income sources of various journals and their methods It will lead to a healthier and better press. We will have to make a fight for the newspaper underdog, otherwise he will soon be crushed out of existence.

—NATIONAL HERALD

(Continued from page 26)

deal. If they are not able to get it constitutionally and peacefully they will take the law into their own hands and break the constitution into bits. This new deal will give a breathing space to the free Governments of India to prepare long-term and short-term plans for agricultural and industrial development.

There is again the vast field of cultural reconstruction which requires thousands of workers with brains and resourcefulness. We have to get rid of the barriers of religion caste and creed which obstruct the evolution of a homogeneous Indian nation. A national language and literature have to be created without prejudice to or conflict with the various regional languages. In dress and diet, in art and architecture, and in all matters that go to make the rich ness of civilized modern life, we have to evolve a basic unity with wide scope for regional and individual variation

All this work requires a new outlook and a new sense of values. Patriotism must hereafter mean ability to create and to build. Emphasis must be shifted from mental cleverness and meek obedience to adventurous pioneering and bold experimentation. Knowledge, skill and inventiveness must be prompted. The urge to fight must be transmuted into a passion for constructive activitie of all kinds. Recently, Pandit Nehru said in the Central Assembly that the distinction between the official and non-official cannot continue for long. Both have to conform to the new standard of public service. Nor can the distinction between those who went to jail and those who did not be maintained without serious detriment to national efficiency. With the dawn of freedom, all Indians will start from scratch on new race in nation-building.

—HINDUSTHAN TIMES

CREATIVE PATRIOTISM

By K. SHANTANAM.

In a dynamic society every new situation produces its appropriate psychological changes. To bring about these changes consciously and with a minimum of time and trouble is an essential function of leadership. India is on the threshold of radical transformation in every aspect of her life. If it is to be fruitful the people must alter their outlook. It is not enough that they should be passionately attached to freedom. They have to learn to think and act as a free people.

In its earlier stages, Indian politics was largely legalistic. This was the result of the situation that followed the Indian Mutiny. The military and the governing classes became paralysed and impotent. There was no prospect of active revolt aganist British imperialism. The only political activity that was possible consisted of an intellectual appeal to the reason and goodness of the rulers.

LEGALISM

The new legal system established all over the country helped to produce the type of leadership suitable to the circumstances. The material was already there in abundance. Hindu theological scholarship had always been very learned and subtle. The classes which had been hereditarily devoted to this scholarship found themselves at home in the subtleties of British jurisprudence. The great lawyers became the founders of the nationalist movement. They gave to it intellectual depth. They were remarkable for their laborious study and precision of thought and language. But they also inevitably imparted to the people a false sense of values. Undue importance was attached to statements and speeches of those who were in power. Attempt was made to convert the pious platitudes of Queen Victoria's Proclamation into a Bill of Rights for the Indian people. Every casual speech of a Secretary of State or a Viceroy became the subject of prolonged controversy. Politics became a never-ending litigation. Instead of seeking practical solutions for urgent problems, the leaders began to revel in subtle arguments and ingenious interpretations.

Though there has been a great change during the last 25 years, we still suffer from the legalistic bent given to our public life during the leadership of Indian Liberals. The extraordinary controversy relating to Sections and Grouping in the Cabinet Mission plan would be unintelligible to any foreigner not acquainted with the historical development of Indian politics. even when the British have declared their determination to transfer power by June 1948, we are unable to resist the temptation to scrutinize the hopes and fears expressed by speakers in Parliament. We cannot yet believe that it will not be in the power of Mr Attlee or the British Government to regulate the relatione between majorities and minorities in India. Some still cling to his dictum that the minority cannot veto the progress of the majority and others recall the pledges to Muslims and other minorities. I can understand the Tories seeking to exploit the obcurities of Mr. Attlee's statement to persuade him to give up the policy and postpone he date. But I am unable to perceive the objective of Indian intellectuals asking all kinds of questions, the effect of which can only be to cast doubts on Indian's readiness to assume her independence when the British quit India. They seem to imagine that independence is some kind of property to which one succeeds through a registered document.

For the past one generation legalistic nationalism has been giving way to miltant nationalism. The conception that freedom has to be won by struggle and not by mere argument was essentially sound. Militant nationalism has also helped the Indian people to acquire the virtues of discipline obedience to chosen leaders and the growth of the spirit of self.-sacrifice. But militant nationalism had its own drawbacks. It tended to become unduly suspicious. Its perspectibles were distorted and it had to attach exaggerated importance to symbols and slogans.

NATION BUILDING

When British power is withdrawn from this country, we shall have to develop an entirely new type af creative patriotism. India will require creators and builders of all kinds. Immediately we have to build a new constitution. It is is be hoped that our consitution-makers will not wrangle indefinitely over minor points. I know that even small details of a constituion are important and may have serious consequences. Still it should not be forget en that any constituion which is essensially democratic and which contains a reasonable procedure for any draft can suffice to give India a new start. As the constitution has to be federal and therefore rigid, this rigidity must be reduced to a minimum. The constitution as at present drafted is bound to have many loose ends which will have to be left vague and elastic. There should be provision for inclusion of new units and the creation of new provinces. There should be scope for sub-federal units and autonomy of various kinds. Above all, the constitution must be completed by the end of the year.

The constitution will be the instrument for taking over power from Britain. But this power will be worth little unless it can be immediately and effectively used to build up a new economy. If this is delayed there will be utter chaos. The peasants of India have waited patiently and for long. They will wait no longer. They must give a new

(Contionued on page 25)

★ HINDU LAW REFORM ★

The main provisions of the Draft Hindu Code formulated by the Hindu Law Committee and some of their general features have now been published. They deserve at the hands of all those interested in them that care and attention which the intrinsic importance of the subject demands and to which the views of so painstaking and devoted a body of reformers are entitled. Those provisions in the Code which are meant to remove certain anomalies and grave injustices should meet with sympathetic consideration. The Committee, in its first report, referred to three such cases in particular - the helplessness of a widowed daughter-in-law as against her father-in-law's rights; the pitiable case of "a girl married to a semi-lunatic, of course without her consent and without any hope of freedom"; and the problem of the the first wife of the young man who, married early in life to an uneducated girl, goes abroad, comes back "modernised", discards his first wife as not being a suitable companion and takes to an educated modern girl. By making the Hindu marriage monogamous and introducing a general law of divorce, the Committee seeks to redress these wrongs. The assumption that monogamy and divorce inevitably go together is contradicted by the established practice of other settled societies, for example, the Muslims at one end and the Catholics at the other. Those who are anxious to remove certain existing disabilities should beware of the temptation to make that an occasion for effecting social changes by law, according to their own notions of what is proper, without regard to such questions as whether society at large is prepared for such changes or whether they might not have the effect of imposing new, disabilities on large sections. It seems to us that the Committee has not given sufficeint consideration to the possibility of remedying the hardships it has in mind without introducing innovations in the Hindu socio-legal structure which are incompatible with the retention of marriage as a sacrament for those large sections of Hindus who still hold fast to that view of marriage.

The Committee cuts at the root of the Mitakshara system of joint family by its proposal that interest in joint family property shall devolve in every case by testamentary or intestate succession and not by survivorship. By making this proposal, the members of the Committee have done what they, in their earlier report, stated "no thoughtful reformer" would do, namely, "wish to lay hands on the ancient structure of Hindu law except for proved necessity". Two reasons they have urged in justification of this plan. One is the desire to provide a uniform code for all Hindus; while the other consists in their claim that India's international status and relations call for the change. The Committee has dismissed with a cheap sneer Dr. Dwaraknath Mitter's reluctance lightly to interfere with the "spacious structure (of Hindu law) with many schools." The Committee's view that changes may be introduced into the Hindu system, whether the Hindu community demands them or not, cannot bear examination. Its answer to the question - "Who demands these changes?" - is that some foreigners at some unnamed international gathering or gatherings had demanded them, if the Hindu community had not ! Is it suggested that the Hindu community should have its law laid down for it by outsiders who know nothing of the Hindu society, its evolution and its ideals? For our part, we should like Hindu law to be governed by the needs and desires of Hindu society; and, as we observed in our Comment on the earlier report of the Committee, we should avoid "light hearted innovations based on theories evolved by the experience of societies elsewhere in circumstances which were altogether different from those of ours".

If what the Committee has in mind is the position of women and their rights - those of daughters and widows in particular - we shall be glad to accept its proposal if it can be shown that their position would be better under the new provision than under the existing one. We are all for strengthening, not merely the legal rights, but the general position of women but we believe that if a comparative study of the actual benefits accuring to women in their different under status the existing system and the proposed one is made on the basis of an adequate number of samples of families, then, it may very well be found that, in the special conditions of our society, the present system is more in their favour than the proposed one can be. The former does provide to them a measure of social security which the proposed change, borrowed as it is from communities more individualistic in structure and in which women have had traditions of greater "freedom" and "equality" in the modern sense, cannot assure to them. We do not think that the slender legal rights which women will acquire in the new system will be adequate compensation for the loss of the effective moral sanction for the substantial advantages which they enjoy in practice at present. It is wrong to suppose that it is the Hidu law that stands in the way of women being free or self-sup-porting; it is the existence of a state, out of tune with Hindu society, and an economy which takes little or no responsibility for the social security of the subject - male or female - which account for the disparity. The joint family, vanishing as it is, has still a function to perform till something else takes its place in providing social security - such as it is - in our country.

The argument in favour of the change based on uniformity seems no more valid. In the first place, why should a system observed by forty million people be imposed, in the name of uniformity, on a hundred and seventy millions spread over areas widely separated in space and owing allegiance to a different system? Further, how can uniformity be sustained in the face of several hundreds of jurisdictions with separate virtually sovereign legislatures and judiciary? The Committee has followed the example of Baroda; but Gwalior and Mysore may choose to go their own way. So also the Provinces which have a voice over a part at least of the proposals. So long as there is no uniformity of political jurisdiction, it will be difficult to ensure a uniform system of social and personal law. Indeed, it is the existence of these different political jurisdictions that has led to the different systems of Hindu law. Else why did Vignaneswara's commentary on the Code of Yagnyavalkya come to be interpreted differently and take different shapes - the Mithila School, the Maharashtrian School, the Dravida School and so on? We think that in the circumtances the best course is to be content with providing remedies for felt evils and leave the task of far reaching reforms to more leisurely times when Hindu society may have the opportunity to formulate what it wants and is in a position to get it.

—HINDU, MADRAS.

★ FILMS FOR FREE INDIA ★

There is a growing aconowledgement of the outstanding merits and great potentialities films in the fields of entertainment propaganda, education and instouorction. Realising the social significance of this art and the tremendous force which it possess, various states have nationalised the industry for the purposes of national utility ranging from adult entertainment to children's education. Russia Germany and France figure prominently among such states which have given an equal status to the film industry with other traders. Films have attained high cultural and artistic standards particularly in Russia, where they have been allotted a priority in the various five-year plans.

But the unfortunate control of the industry in India by the almost illiterate and uneducated money mongering seths has resulted in the great catastrophe of the production of bad films. But the advent of popular ministries in the provinces and a national Government at the Centre has raised the hopes that this industry will be given a new life and its decent towards an obscure and dark future will be checked. With some helpful state legislation its course can easily be regulated towards the evolution of a bright era of Indian films which will help in the final emergence of a completely new India—sovereign and independent. The best way to do this is for the Central Government to prescribe that a certain percentage—say 25—of the total annual pruduction of the Indian feature films should be devoted to such categories which should espouse the cause of national struggle by telling the lives of past heroes and contemporary personalities in their right perspective and so portray the conditions of various periods and educate the common people.

Biographical films have played an important role in raising the invincible self-confidence and morale of the individual Russian which caused the defeat and the final elimination of Hitler and his ambitions from the political world map. Donskoi's epoch-making production of *The childhood of Maxim Gorki* is one of the many such films which left an inspiring impression on the minds of Russians and which deeply influenced the dramatic performance of this miracle of the twentieth century by them. But Indian producers have systematically ignored this line of production except the solitary attempt by V. Shantaram in the shape of *Dr. Kotnis ki Amar Kahani*. The life of Lokmanya Tilak the great leader of the twenties, is also to be filmed by the Filimistan Ltd and it is hoped that the film would form the preface of a great book of biographical films to be written with the lives of great men like C. R. Dass. Sayed Ahmed, Maulana Mohammad Ali Moti Lal Nehru and other literary renowned and celebrated personalities of the country. The Indian films also include innumerable other biographies but they are taken either from the legendary lores of mythology or from the pages of history. Setting aside the mythological films which try to carry blind religious frenzy to its utmost some good histcricals have also been produced, the brightest and the most brilliant among them is the production *Bairam Khan* directed by G. Jagirdar. Ignoring the usual Indian romantic touch in the picture the film presents the true spirt history and itcan easily be classified as to greatest biographical portrayal from the Indian history. *Bairam Khan* can put as a match to any of the Hollywood Films and it equals such great classics as *Prime Minister* and *Pitt the Younger*.

Begining with the hit-success *Pukar* where Soharb Modi more or less laid emphasis on the halo of glory that surrounded the Moghul court and the historical royal romance between Johangir and Nurjehan, a host of pseudo-historical stories were filmed in which facts were distorted callously and events were twisted mercilessly and in some cases even history was treated shamelessly in the name of the box-offiice. A great director like Mehboob who was very successful in *Humayun* in conveying the message of unity effectively failed to keep history intact and effected some fantastic innovations in the film a happy end. The element of history is a dominant factor in the progress of a nation because it is to the glorious past that a person looks back in moments of excitement and desperation. Hence the need for more and good historical films and period drams is not over-emphasised. Russia has largely contributed to this branch of film craft with such great films as *Strike, the Battleship Potemkin* depicting the Russian Revolution of 1905 and *October* which immortalised the Ten Days that shook the world. All these films were directed by S M. Eisunstein and are a matter of pride for the nation that produced them.

There is a common and genuine objection that the Indian film-goers are not developed mentally and culturally, to grap the significance of serious films. The main cause of this drawback is the masses. Unfortunately it will remain to sow its seedsof poison for many years to come because of the present uncertain and unsettled political conditions. However this defect can be overcome to a great extent with the help of short films and documentaries in educating and preparing the masses to understand messages of love liberty and freedom conveyed through celluloid. Documentary films had a good opportunity to develop and flourish during the recent war and played a very important role in the fiered drums of blood and murder. England has produced some memorable short films and documentaries and so has America. The famous "March of Time" series are also worth while. Indians also exploited the new medium and the Government of India took its control under the supervision of Ezra Mir inher own hands thus making it one of the few wise acts of the Viceroy's non-official regime of the war days. Besides educating and instructing the troops and exhibiting to millions the horrible scenes of various battles in their vivid realities the shorts and documentaries asquainted the public with the industrial potentialities historical traditions, technical accomplishments, cultural heritage and architecural monuments of India and a common man's sense of appreciation of cultural values world events attained high standards by seeing these films.

—NATIONAL HERALD

SOUND AND SHADOW

Famous Pictures (1946) Ltd. Bombay.

Their maide npicture was not so much of a suc cess. So their next release will be "Mera Sohag" directed by Amia Chakrybarty of "Basant" fame (forget his "Jwar Bhata") instead of "Mohan" directed by Anadinath Banerji, though the latter was completed earlier. "Mera Sohag" has the heroine in Kamala Kotnis, the ex-Telugu Star. Vishram Vedekar, the famous Marathi writer is busy giving finishing touches to his "Chool and Mool" a Marathi picture.

Nargis Art Productions, Bombay.

Director Akhtar Hussein is bent on making "Romeo and Juliet", starring glamourous Nargis and daring Sapru, the last word in film-craft. Recently there was a mishap on the sets of the picture. Sapru, playing the role of Romeo got wounded when a duel scene was being shot. Perhaps this incident shows how realistically the film is being made.

Mahboob Productions, Bombay.

"Ahmol Ghandi" has become the rage in the North, where it is released. "Elan" with Surendra, Munnawar Sultana and Shah Nawaz is nearing completion and producer Mehboob hopes to take some rest after a couple of months. "Elan", it is hoped, will become the hit of 1947 when it is released.

Kardar Productions, Bombay.

Mian Kardar has christened his new picture as "Shanti" contrary to our expectations that it would be named as "Pakistan". The folks at the Studios are confident that "Shanti" will bring the good old days of "Sharada' and "Namaste".

Acharya Art Productions, Bombay.

Producer N. R. Acharya has at last completed his "Parivartan" starring Anjali Devi and Motilal. He is now busy over the paper work of his next picture, which too will be a comedy.

Lakshmi productions, Bombay.

The pride picture "Veerangana" has already been released in Delhi and Bombay. "Veerangana" has an impressive cast, which includes Shobhana Samarth, Prem Adib, Jeevan and Prabha and is directed by the famous Nandalal Jaswantlal. Their next picture "Mahasati Toral" starring Durga Khote, Leela Desai and Prem Adib will go before the Censor Board this month, while 'Chandrahas" with Shahu Modak and Vanmala is getting finishing touches at the hands of director Nandalal Jaswantlal.

Minerva Movietone, Bombay.

"Divani" starring Mumtaz Shanti and Wasti has been released in Bombay and "Manjhdar" featuring Khurshid and Surendra and directed by the ace-director Sohrab Modi is ready for being screened. Their future programme is still not announced.

Shri Ranjit Film Co., Bombay.

These ever-busy people have more than half a dozen pictures ready for release and a dozen more in various stages of completion. Their first release will be "Cheen Le Azadi" starring Veena, Gulam Mohd. and Afzal and directed by Aspi Irani. Prahlad Dutt, the ace Cameraman has joined this Company as a director and he has begun shooting of his vehicle.

United Films: Bombay.

Not content with their successful "Bhai Jan", United Films have already completed another film, viz: "Shankar" with Shobhana Samarth and Shah Nawaz in stellar roles. Music is said to be the high-light of the picture and the megaphone was wielded by S. Khalil, who has already established himself as an important director by his work in "Bhai Jan."

Amar Pictures: Bombay.

"Roopa" headed by a new comer in Surekha and supported by the well-known poet Harindranath Chattopadhya. Producer-Director Surendra Desai, B. A., (Known as "Bulbul Desai" to his friends) is confident of regaining his reputation after the utter failure of his much boosted "Ratnavali".

Sagar Movietone, Bombay.

Weatherbeaten Chimanlal Desai has resurrected the once defunct film concern and the first picture after the rebirth will be "Pahela pyar" which has a galaxy of stars -Vanmala, Sulochana Chatterji, David and Sunalini Devi. The story is written by R. S. Choudhary and is directed by a newcomer A. P. Capoor.

Raja Movietone, Bombay.

Zahur Raja himself is not sure whether he is going to produce "Cleopatra" though his publicity blurb shouts that "Cleopatra" will be produced in two languages -Hindustani and French at Maurice Studios, Paris. It is further said that there is no truth in the rumour that Vivien Leigh declined Zahur Raja's invitation to play the role of the Serpant of Nile. Anyhow, "Dharkhan" featuring Zahur Raja and Jyoti is already in the tins and Lyricist Madhok is halfway through "Barkha" starring Zahur Raja and Irshad.

Oriental Pictures, Bombay.

This one-man affair of Kidar Sharma has at last been able to

dispose off the different territorial rights of "Neel" Kamal in which Begam para, Raj Kapoor and Kidar Sharma's new find constitute the usual Romantic Triangle. It need not be said once again that Director Kidar Sharma has dedicated this film to the sweet memory of his star-wife, Kamala Chatterjee, whose sudden death nearly broke the heart of Kidar Sharma.

Kanu Desai Productions, Bombay

Kanu Desai, whose art directions were responsible to bring the mythological and historical atmospheres to films "Rama Rajya" and "Vikramaditya" respectively, has launched his own programme. The maiden picture will be "Geeta Govind" with a star cast containing prem Adib, Leela Desai, Sulochana Chatterjee, David and others The direction has been entrusted to Ramachandra Thakur and the musical exposition will be done by Guyan Dutt.

Filmstan Ltd., Bombay

"Eight days" has been released at key contres and the poor reception it got at the hands of the public has net added anything to their prestige. However, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lall is confident of hitting new and high levels with the release of his "Shehnahi" and "Sindhoor" With Rehana, Nasirkhan and Indumati in the lead, "Shehnai" directed by P. L. Santoshi of "Hum Ek Hain" fame promises to be a good musical. "Sindhoor" has a staggering cast, consisting of Kishore Sahu, Shamim, and Paro and is written by the Genius Kishore Sahu who is also the producer and director of the picture. The people at the helm of affair of Filmstan are of the opinion that the vogue of jubilees will be introduced when "Sindhoor" is released. Other pictures under productions are "Leela" starring Neena, Shoba and Kanu Roy and "Do Bhai" written and directed by Munshi Dil who is associated with the countrywide success of "Laila Majnu" being its scenario and dialogue writer. Shashadar Mukherjee is busy over the script of "Lokamanya Tilak" which will go on the sets within the next few months. All this is only a small portion of the ambitious programme of Filmstan Ltd.

Central Studios, Ltd., Bombay

The shooting of "Gulbabakavali" has been suspended owing to the untimely death of its director, Rustom Modi. Rustom Modi is the eldest of the three Modi brothers, Rustom, Keki and Sohrab. The film Industry has iost stuuch worker in Rustam Medi whose enterprise has contributed so much for it.

D. R. D. Productions., Bomhay.

It seems that the motto of this budding concern is to produce hit after hit. This is evident from their achievements. The start was made with "Ishara" and then came "Aina" and "Nek Parvin." The current picture is "Pati Seva" starring Trilok Kapoor, Dulari and Husna Bani and the direction is by S. M. Yusuf who was responsible for the phenominal success of 'Nek Parvin."

Navyug Pictures Ltd, Bombay.

"Moti" and "Shikayat" are both awaiting release. The former stars Geeta Nizami and Biman Banerjee and the latter has Shehaprabha and Shyam in the lead. Both are expected to bring enough dough to compensate their loss in "Room No. 9."

Shalimar Pictures, Poona.

"Meera Bai" which has Neena and Parven has at last been completed. For some reason, there is no more activity in these studios though more than a dozen titles have been announced.

New Theatres Ltd., Calcutta.

"Anjan Ghar" directed by Bimol Roy and "Nurs Sisi" directed by Subodh Mitter are ready for release though "Wasiat Nama" completed long ago remains in the tins.

Rajkamal Kalamandir, Bombay

With the return of V. Shantharam and Jayashree, the studio is buzzing once again with activity. The publicity of office of Rajkamal says that V. Shantaram has made arrangements to release "Dr. Kotnis ki Amar Kahani (American title of Budha)', Parbat Pe Apna Dera (American title: My home on the hill) and "Shakuntala" in the states. Shantaram has already planned to float a concern called Shantharam International (Rhyming with Selznick International) and make arrangement to exibit all the future Rajkamal picturs as well as some select Indian pictures. "Jeevan Yatra" starring Yakub, Nayantara and Janki Das is awaiting release since a long time. "Banwasi" writen by the famous Marathi author, Prof. N. S. Phadke and directed by Chandrashekhar is being completed, while Baburao Painter, Shantaram's 'guru' is busy over "Ram Joshi' which will be produced in Hindi and Marathi versions.

Profulla Pictures, Bombay.

Winayak has completed more than half of the picture "Mandir" featuring Shanta Apte and Shahu Modak. His next picture will be "Naya Admi" written by Ahmad Abbas.

Pancholi Art Productions, Lahore

These producers, who put the Punjab on the film map of India seem fo have lost all interest in producing good entertaining pictures. This is evident from their recent flops like "Dhamki," "Kaise Kahun" and "Shehr Se Dur." The fact of "Pagdandi" which has Durga Mota and Baby Akhtar is still to be seen. Their future programme is still in the air

OUR BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. K. Ratnakara Rao will represent THE INDIAN JOURNALIST at Bombay

Lakshmi Productions,

VEERANGANA, *Becomes the Ugliest Picture, of the Year!*

Sobhana Samarth Insults Youth!!

AN ALLROUND ROTTEN PICTURE.

An overplayed theme in ugly costumes.

Perhaps the supposed box office pull of M. G. Dave' s stories induced the producers to take this story and make it into a film. M. G. Dave' s name as the story writer of this picture alone should make the discerning film goers shun "Veerangana". The same old story with not a single new situation is too poor to offer any entertainment The very fact that the producers were bold enough to take up this silly story shows how unintelligent the producers are. If they had banked on the star pull, well, they are off the rail.

It is not worthwhile to relate the story which has come on the screen too many a time in many garbs. Mohanlal Dave alone knows whether this is fact or fiction or a "brainwave" of his. Probably Mohanlal Dave thinks that by introducing the historical figure of Akbar the Great, anything can be passed as "historical". The story is about the Rajput rivalry; but after seeing the picture, one will have very poor opinion about them.

Unimaginative Director creates full one-and-half hour's hell!

Nandlal Jaswantlal, who has to his credit such boring pictures like "Kadambari" and "Amra pali" shouts that he knows nothing about direction. The crude humour he has introduced in this picture should keep away any decent person from seeing it. If he had an ounce of intelligence, he would not have made every situation look ridiculous. Photography,

Producers:—*Laxmi productions, Bombay.*
Language:—*Hindi.*
Story :—*M. C. Dave.*
Dialogues:—*Pt. Anuj.*
Photography:—*Fali Mistry.*
Players :—*Shobhana Samarth, Prem Adib, Jeevan Prabha, etc.*
Director :—*Nandlal Jaswantlal*

though pretty in many parts, is hardly better than average. Audiography is erratic through out the picture. Some of the sets have been beautifully built and the shots of Prem Adib and Shobhana Samarth sailing are good. It really passes ones comprehension why Akbar should have been shown holding his "darbar" in a dirty hole. The costumes and the looks of the "sardars" evoke laughter from everybody.

Mama Shobhana Samarth insults Youth!

Shobhana Samarth is at her ugliest in 'Veerangana". Shobhana who looks nearly forty, by playing the role of a young woman insutls Youth. The repulsive manners of hers when making "love" to Prem Adib makes one shudder prem Adib indeed looks like a "daku" and this remark was made by a housemaid in the picture. From this, we are led to believe that that maid alone is a wise person, in the whole film. The close-ups of Shobhana and Prem Adib are the ugliest. Jeevan in the role of villian does some theatrical acting. Badri Prasad in the role of Akbar is a misfit. So far, only Mubarak has succeeded in bringing Akbar in convincing manner on the screen in "Tansen." Not a single person has given a good performance.

In fine, "Veerangana" should be avoided at all costs as even a dozen packets of "Aspro" will not be able to drive away the headache earned by seeing this picture.

Saroja in Uma Pictures' VASAVADATTA

Vauhini's

YOGI VEMANA, *Lowers their Standard of Technical Excellence*

Swellheaded K. V. Reddy Exhibits his Mediocre Talent

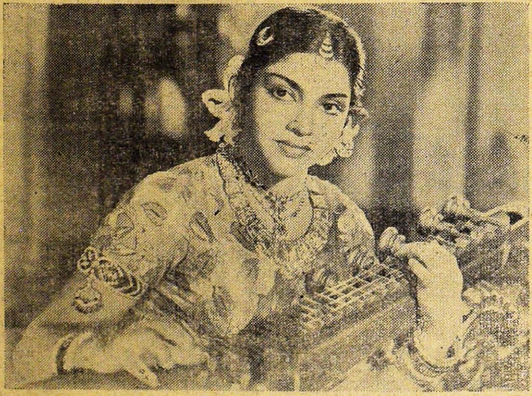
KANTHAMANI GIVES AN ADMIRABLE PERFORMANCE

Among the motion picture producers of South-India, VAUHINI undoubtedly occupies a premier place both in technical excellence and artistic finish. It is equally notorious for the selection of revolting themes and the Malaya returned Director B. N. Reddy has the speciality in presenting his pet themes in a "new and novel" way. No wonder his pictures were record failures at the box-office but were characteristic of their individuality which many producers try to emulate.

K. V. Reddy in his maiden attempt chose the mythological way and thanks to the admirable cooperation he had from the artistes and tchnicians, his BHAKTA POTANA saved VAUHINI from turning the tables, inspite of the several defects in the picture that were characteristic of a maiden attempt. We donot grudge the financial prosperity of K. V. Reddy since after but had he kept his head in its proper place and listened to wiser counsels preferring the path of sanity to arrogance, he would not have exhibited his mediocre talent so poorly in YOGI VEMANA. Devoid of the technical assistance which covered his defects, K. V. Reddy's desire to capture the box-office at minimum expense forced him to cater to the mob. True it is that there is a heaven difference between Poet Potana and Rake Vemana, and if Vemana is noted for anything, it is for his ability to express philisophical sayings in simple words, although many of his philisophical utterances were of questionable character as had been boldly challenged by late Duggirala Gopalkrishnayya. As such VEMANA offers nothing to idolise and the climax in his life is natural to any social hero including MURTHY of SWARGA SEEMA who turns to his dutiful wife after having been kicked by the vamp that trapped him. Of course unlike the many other social heroes who end their screen career with a happy reunion with their saintly wives, Vemana turns a sanyasi for he had none to turn back except his sister-in law who brought him up with a mother-like devotion. Thank God he did not seduce her!

VEMANA therefore is a good social subject and the essential requisites for a successful social are the selection of proper artistes to suit the peculiar roles, quality entertainment and tuneful music. K. V. Reddy's YOGI VEMANA lacks the above three and therefore fails to carry the audience, although the picture is not without one or two moving incidents.

Years ago, when we had occasion to offer a few suggestions to Director K. V. Reddy regarding selection of artistes, we had been misunderstood as canvassing for individual artistes but we feel sure that had Narayana Rao, Gourinath Sastry, Kannamba and Bhanumathi replaced Nagiah, Rami Reddi Parvati Bai and Rajamma in the present picture, YOGI VEMANA would have revolutionised the Social screen and would have by their individual performances shielded K. V. Reddy's directorial record. Excepting Kannamba all, the rest were Vauhini's artistes and K. V. Reddy did try Kannamba but withdrew as he considered her rate of Rs. 25000 too much for Vauhini. So does Gourinath Sastry who refused to be exploited as Srinadha. If not acting abilty and personality, atleast human gratitute should have prompted the selection of Narayana Rao. Unless K. V. Reddy saw something latent in Rajamma's histrionic talents, Banumathi should have been the right chioce. As had been repeatedly pointed out



Vasundara as Vasavadatta in Uma Pictures' VASAVADATTA

by us, Vauhini believes in the exploitation of the artistes for benefit and although the artistes were unitelligent enough to be a willing party to Vauhini's game, we are glad they could assert their individuality this time to teach a fitting lesson to K. V. Reddy.

'Binod' of Khass Subba Rao's SWATANTRA may be a lonely exception to see a great artiste in Nagiah as Editor Murthy in SWARGASEEMA but if Nagiah is to save his name and fame, he should quit the romantic roles and if he is wise enough, we feel sure he will make a public announcement to that effect after VEMANA. No one dare deny the artistic and musical talents of Nagiah but today we are forced to declare this as we had pointed out after POTANA—BHAGYALAKSAMI release. Looking more like a grand father than a romantic guy of the twenties, Nagiah's best efforts to survive the romantic role fail and instead evoke derisive laughter. As an instance, if the audience of VEMANA had not laughed to their heart's content, when Parvati Bai tries to calm down Rami Reddi with the dialogue, "oh. He is a child. He will learn better',, they should be returning to the dark ages. In happy contrast to the earlier scenes, Nagiah gives good account of himself. in the later scenes. Devotional and elderly roles suits him well. Producers will be doing him justice when they donot force romantic roleson him.

Rami Reddi as AnaVema Reddi may be summed up as a brute. To suit a bigger frame than Nagiah his services had been requistioned, with the result that Rami Reddi makes a fool of himself.

Parvati Bai did justice to her role and as an elderly lady she acted with dignity.

We have seen enough of Rajamma from JARASANDHA to VIJAYALAKSHMI. Resembling Pushpavali's SEETHA in RAJARAJESWARI'S P. P. B. Shekam, devoid of her grace and charm, Rajamma is being tried by different producers and perhaps the latest is Dhiren Das Gupta who threatens to show her curves more clearly. Beauty and charm she had none. Personality she has like a well-built nurse. Cannot utter Telugu dialogues properly. Music is mediocre. Sex appeal only to suit the tastes of Rayalasema Reddis. Dances! May God forbid that sight!

May be they are an improvement over Saritha's performance in Renuka's THYAGIAH, but that does not save the picture. Between Parvati Bai and Rajamma, we donot know who is to be treated as the heroine, but with barely twenty dialogues she betrays herself.

Lingamurthi noted for overacting, seems to have been under the vigilence of the Director and being cautious, we feel he had not been free to express himself better.

The acting honours of YOGI VEMANA should go Kanthamani who gives a natural, characteristic and admirable performance as the mother of Rajamma. Years ago she acted the same role as Kanchanamala's mother in H. M. Reddy's GRUHALAKSHMI and as one who knows her job pretty well she needs no special commendation.

Reddis of Tadpatri seem to have strange conceptions of the Temples and K. V. Reddy takes particular delight in creating rediculer scenes inside the temples. It was Lingamurthi in POTANA who lighted the cigar with the celestial fire and this time it is Nagiah who pulls down the veil of the idol. Minute details apart, people who have heard of Vemana knew the reason for his turning a sanyasin. We concede certain liberties for effective picturisation, but we surely cannot over-look important and climax sequences being handled to suit the peculiar tastes.

The production values are too poor. Vauhini, which is noted for its musical score presents a poor performance, even the two *Javalies* not being impressive. B. N. Reddy tactfully managed to cover the absence of Ramnoth but we fear K. V. Reddy fought a lonely battle.

Vasundhara dances to your entertainment in Uma Pictures' VASAVADATTA

Narasu gives fresh lease of life to Uma Pictures' "VASAVADATTA"

VASUNDHARA GIVES A MAGNIFICENT PERFORMANCE

What havoc a *nincompoop* of a director can play even when full facilities and first rate artists were given and more specially so when he has an interest in one of the girls, had been nakedly demonstrated when Uma Pictures released their much boosted *Udayan — Vasavadatta*, featuring Vasundhara, Saroja, Balasubramanyam. The Tamil pictures have their own peculiar box office standards and although one gets out of the theatre not satisfied with the performance, one gets sufficient entertainment during the few hours of his stay in the theatre, partly through the antics of the comedians and the inevitable bharatanatyam.

It was however the exceptional fortune of Director T. R. Raghunath to have experimented Saroja with vulgar exhibition of dances much to the leading artistes and the consequent boredom. One particular scene of the minister's discussion with 'War plan' was so taxing on one's nerves that one prefers to walk out of the theatre. No wonder the picture had to be withdrawn much earlier than any third rate picture.

Faced with their huge quantity of Celluloid purchased at a record price, film magnate Narasu had no other alternative than to make the best out of the bad bargain. Towards this end he worked vigorously and resurrected Udayanan—Vasavadatta to bring out an entertaining and enjoyable Vasavadatta scheduled to be released shortly. In doing so Narasu showed imagination, and with additional footage provided the necessary entertainment, while the story unfolded itself easily to be followed by the audience. The very opening shots by themselves were impressive and as a musical extravaganza *Vasavadatta* deserves better reception at the box office.

Udayanan the prince is too much attached Vasavadatta, the princess that the prime minister would be forced to separate them for the time being in the best interests of the State administration. He also conceives a master plan by way of a matrimonial alliance with neighbour king and securing everlasting peace. The unbarable separation of the prince and princess, and their reunion after trials and tribulations, provide the dramatic entertainment in the story.

Vasundhara as Vasavadatta, establishes her supremacy over the South-Indian stars. As a first rate artists of exceptional merits in music and dancing she raises to emotional heights. Unfortunately the director had not done enough justice and exploited her talents fully. Vasundhara, it is time enough to quit the Tamil screen, where low tastes and standards predominate in name of mob entertainment. The photographic effect of the picking of the flower and smelling the same by G. N. B. in the Garden scene, is only an indication to what depths of degradation Tamilians can go in the interpretation of art and Narasu should have clipped off that particular shot to retain the grandeur of his *Vasavadatta*.

G. N. B. may be a good songster but a poor actor and this is more evidenced by the contrast between Vasundhara and G. N. B. The screen hero should act giving expression to his feelings and that is a thing totally absent from his blatant face and movement.

Narasu saved us from the ghastly sight of Saroja's dances, although some of her breast closeups he dare not avoid. Like a road roller, it is assuming how she is assigned with important roles.

Kali Ratnam provided the much needed dramatic relief.

The Production values of the picture are good.

The dance numbers of Vasundhara and the musical interludes of Vasundhara and G. N. B. are excellent.

Vasundhara and G. N. B. as Vasavadatta and Udayana.

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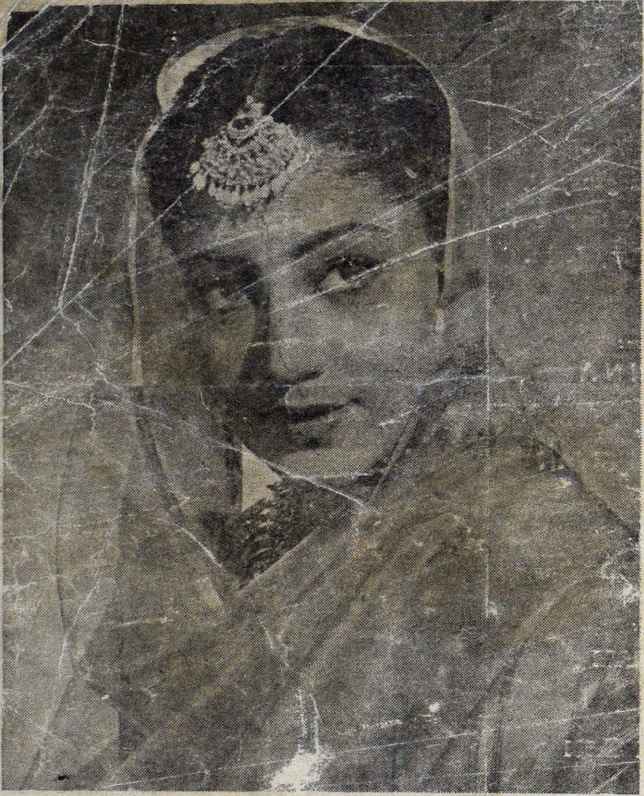

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